MARCH 8, 2004

The Nation.

$2.95
$3.95 Canada

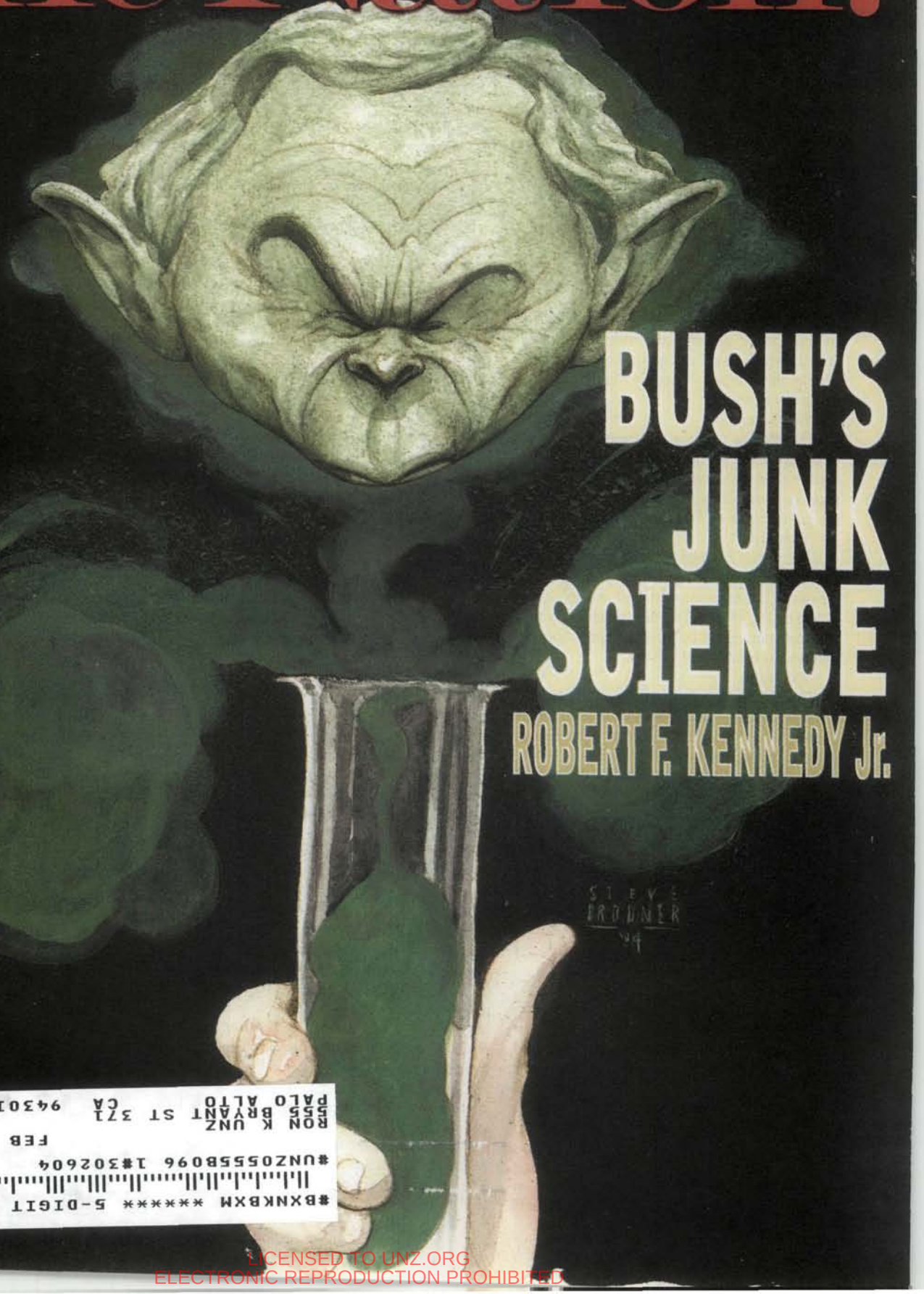
THE NEW SCOPES TRIALS
ic Alterman &
Mark Green

AVING THE
IVIRONMENT
Carl Pope &
Paul Rauber

DEAN'S
ROUGH RIDE
William Greider

RAPE IN THE
CONGO
Jan Goodwin

THE END OF
HE RAINBOW?
Ed Morales



BUSH'S JUNK SCIENCE

ROBERT F. KENNEDY Jr.

www.thenation.com

#BXNKBXM ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
FEB 05 07
USPA
#0106
#UNZ055580961 1#3026004 TW
0 3775
47720
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

Ralph Nader Replies: Whither The Nation?

The following letter is a response to "An Open Letter to Ralph Nader," which appeared in the February 16 issue.

Washington, DC

■ As I reread slowly your open letter, which kindly started and closed with your demand "Don't run," memories of past *Nation* magazine writing, going back to the days of Carey McWilliams and earlier, came to mind. I share them with you.

Long ago the *The Nation* stood steadfastly for more voices and choices inside the electoral arenas, which today are more dominated than ever by the two-party duopoly trending toward one-party districts:

"Don't run."

The Nation's pages embrace large areas of agreement with the undersigned on policy matters and political reforms, especially the abusive power of Big Business over elections, the government and the economy:

"Don't run."

The Nation has been sharply critical of the Democratic Party's stagnation, the corporatist Democratic Leadership Council and its domination by Big Money. This is the same party that has just ganged up on its insurgents and reasserted its established forces:

"Don't run."

The Nation has urgently reported on a tawdry electoral system—ridden with fraud and manipulation—that discourages earnest people from running clean campaigns about authentic necessities of the American people and the rest of the world:

"Don't run."

The Nation first informed me as a young man about the deliberate barriers—statutory, monetary, media and others—to third parties and independent candidates for a chance to compete, bring out more votes and generate more civic and political energies. This led me to write my first article on these exclusions against smaller candidacies in the late 1950s:

"Don't run."

The Nation has often encouraged the longer-run effect of small candidacies (civil rights, economic populism, women's suffrage, labor and farmer parties), which have pushed the agendas of the major parties and sown the seeds for future adoption:

"Don't run."

The Nation has dutifully recorded the hapless state of the Democratic Party, which for the past ten years has registered more and more losses at the federal, state and local levels. The party even managed to "lose" the presidency in 2000, which it actually won, even with all other "what ifs" considered, both before (Katherine Harris's voter purge), during (the deceptive ballots) and afterward (recount blunders by the party):

"Don't run."

The Nation has editorialized about the spineless Democrats who could have stopped the two giant tax cuts for the wealthy, the unconstitutional war resolution, the Patriot(less) Act and John Ashcroft's nomination (to mention a few surrenders). Yet you have not pointed to any external ways to stiffen the resolve or jolt the passivity of Jefferson's party, which lately has become very good at electing very bad Republicans all by itself:

"Don't run."

The Nation believes this cycle is different and that the Democrats have aroused themselves. This view is not the reality we experience regularly in Washington. Witness the latest collapse of the party's opposition to the subsidy-ridden, wrongheaded energy and Medicare drug-benefit legislation—two core party issues:

"Don't run."

The Nation's venerable reputation has been anything but conceding the practical politics of servility, which brings us worse servility and weaker democracy every four years:

"Don't run."

The Nation has intensely disliked being held hostage to antiquated electoral rules, from the Electoral College to the winner-take-all system that discounts tens of millions of votes. Such a stand would seem to call for candidates on the inside to highlight and help build the public constituency for change over time:

"Don't run."

It doesn't seem that *The Nation* would disagree with the conclusions of George Scialabba, who wrote last year in *The Boston Review*, "Two-party dominance allows disproportionate influence to swing voters, single-issue constituencies, and campaign contributors; it promotes negative, contentless campaigns; it rewards grossly inequitable redistricting schemes, and it penalizes those who disagree with both parties but fear to 'waste' their votes (which is why Nader probably lost many more voters to Gore than Gore lost to Nader)":

"Don't run."

The Nation's open letter does not go far enough in predicting where my votes would come from, beyond correctly inferring that there would be few liberal Democratic supporters. The out-of-power party always returns to the fold, while the in-power party sees its edges looking for alternatives. Much more than New Hampshire in 2000, where I received more Republican than Democratic votes, any candidacy would be directed toward Independents, Greens, third-party supporters, true progressives and conservative and liberal Republicans, who are becoming furious with George W. Bush's policies, such as massive deficits, publicized corporate crimes, subsidies and pornography, civil liberties encroachments, sovereignty-suppressing trade agreements and outsourcing. And, of course, any candidacy would seek to do what we all must strive for—getting out more nonvoters, who are now almost the majority of eligible voters:

"Don't run."

The Nation wants badly to defeat the selected President Bush but thinks there is only one pathway to doing so. This approach excludes a second front of voters against the regime, which could raise fresh subjects, motivating language and the vulnerabilities of corporate scandals and blocked reforms that the Democrats are too cautious, too indentured to their paymasters to launch—but are free to adopt if they see these succeed:

"Don't run."

The Nation has rarely been a hostage to prevailing dogma and electoral straitjackets. Its pages have articulated many "minorities of one" over its wondrous tenure and has watched many of its viewpoints today become the commonplace of tomorrow.

I have not known *The Nation* to so walk away from those engaging in a difficult struggle it champions on the merits, in a climate of conventional groupthink—much less with a precipitous prognosis of a distant outcome governed by a multitude of variables. Discussions and critiques from a distance, after all, are a dime a dozen in an election year. O apotheosis of the exercise of dissent inside and outside the electoral commons since 1865:

"Don't walk."

RALPH NADER
www.naderexplore04.org

THE EDITORS REPLY

Dear Ralph,

We agree with your characterization of *The Nation* and what it stands for—and has stood for since 1865. But we disagree with your characterization of why we appealed to you not to run for President this year.

Please don't run. —THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED FEBRUARY 18 VOLUME 278, NUMBER 9

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **EXCHANGE**
Ralph Nader Replies: Whither *The Nation*?
Ralph Nader, the editors

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 SOPRANO REPUBLICANS

4 ELECTION MATTERS
Trade Wins
John Nichols

5 DEAN'S ROUGH RIDE
William Greider

6 ISRAEL'S FAILING WALL
Hillel Schenker

8 "OUTSOURCING" OUR LIVES
Frank LaGrotta

22 IN FACT...

COLUMNS

7 DEADLINE POET
New (Sort of) Issue
Calvin Trillin

9 BEAT THE DEVIL
Kerry: He's Peaking
Alexander Cockburn

10 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
Wedlockstep
Patricia J. Williams

ARTICLES

11 BUSH'S JUNK SCIENCE
It's more fiction than fact.
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

13 SAVING THE ENVIRONMENT
Carl Pope and Paul Rauber

14 THE NEW SCOPES TRIALS
Eric Alterman and Mark Green

18 SILENCE = RAPE
Sexual violence spreads in the Congo.
Jan Goodwin

BOOKS & THE ARTS

23 VACA: The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America
Ed Morales

29 RAMSDEN: Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945
ROUSSEL: Charles de Gaulle
Richard Vinen

33 MUSIC: Johnny Cash
Benjamin Hedin

34 WHEREVER THE WANDER LEADS (poem)
Thom Ward

Cover illustration by Steve Brodner; cover design by Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Karen Caldicott

EDITORIALS

Soprano Republicans

For some time, we've argued that the most significant deficit George W. Bush has overseen is his own credibility gap. The American people seem to be recognizing it as well: A recent *Washington Post*/ABC News poll found that 54 percent of respondents believe Bush either lied or deliberately exaggerated evidence that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction to justify the invasion of Iraq.

And there's increasing evidence that the corruption of Bush and the Republican leadership goes beyond lying, to general thuggishness. Exhibit A: the Valerie Plame case. After Administration officials outed Plame, a CIA officer (whose job was to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction), apparently to discredit her husband, former ambassador Joseph Wilson—a White House critic—no steps were taken to identify and punish the culprits. News reports indicate that US Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald has been interviewing past and present Bush aides—including Karl Rove, Scott McClellan, Mary Matalin, Ari Fleischer, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby and Dan Bartlett—before a grand jury. And a source told the *Post* that the questioning has been very aggressive.

The FBI investigators also seem to be examining White House involvement in the overall smear campaign waged against Wilson after he criticized the Administration last summer for its use of the false charge that Iraq had tried to buy uranium from Niger. These are good signs, perhaps an indication that the inquiry might reveal the ugly tactics used by the Bush gang when its policies are challenged.

On Capitol Hill, GOPers have been engaged in activities reminiscent of what the dirty tricksters of the Nixon re-election campaign called "ratfucking." Republican staffers stole thousands of confidential memos from the Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee by entering private computer space reserved for them. And how did GOP senators initially respond to the news? They opposed an investigation. They were more outraged that—gasp!—these memos, some using injudicious language, showed that committee Democrats worked closely with liberal advocacy groups to oppose Bush's judicial nominees. Only after a preliminary inquiry indicated that this electronic equivalent of a black-bag job might have been criminal did Republicans stop braying and support further investigation.

On the other side of the Hill, the House ethics panel has been conducting what it calls an "informal fact-finding" mission regarding Republican Representative Nick Smith's claim that GOP leaders offered him "bribes and special deals"—including contributions to his son's Congressional campaign—if he would vote for the Medicare prescription-drug bill the White House was pushing. Smith voted against the legislation and later retracted his bribery charge. But why would he make up such an allegation? Of course, GOP leaders are innocent until proven guilty, but this smacks of the worst down-and-dirty politics.

Meanwhile, the political action committee that House majority leader Tom DeLay has used to influence elections in his home state of Texas has come under investigation for possible improper use of corporate contributions. Under Texas law, PACs are not allowed to use corporate or union donations for anything but general administrative expenses. Yet records show that DeLay's PAC collected $600,000 in corporate money and used it for fundraising, polling and voter identification.

It's not just the lies. Bribery, intimidation, theft, funny-money schemes—the Republicans are racking up a record that would make Tony Soprano proud.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR/TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Linda D.M. Chavers, Rohit Goel, Nicholas Jahr, Kristin V. Jones (*Washington*), Tamar Lando, Cissy M. Rebich, Brynn Saito, Martin Schori, Lauren Strayer

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Gene Santoro; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Lucia Annunziata, Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Jane Sharples
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only (up to 250 words), no manuscripts accepted. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. E-mail is preferred, but letters and queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2004 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. This issue went to press on February 18. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from The Nation are available on Thursday by 12 midnight Eastern Time, at www.thenation.com.

Trade Wins

ELECTION MATTERS

Paul Wellstone would have loved the turn the race for the Democratic presidential nomination has taken. Throughout the 2000 primary season, the Senator from Minnesota was frustrated that neither Al Gore nor Bill Bradley would acknowledge that something very serious had taken place on the streets of Seattle in fall 1999. Wellstone believed that the mass outpouring of opposition to the World Trade Organization in particular, and to the corporate free-trade agenda in general, had provided Democrats with an outline for the reassertion of a progressive populist politics that would bring blue-collar workers back into the party fold, reconnect the party with its rural roots and energize young people concerned about sweatshops and human rights. But neither Gore nor Bradley, both resolute free traders, would talk about the growing evidence that free-trade policies were benefiting corporations but doing severe damage to workers, the environment and communities—in the United States and abroad. During an interview shortly before his death, in 2002, Wellstone told me, "If Al Gore had learned how to talk about trade, he would have carried states like Ohio and Missouri and won the 2000 race easily."

What a difference four years makes. The issues that were locked out of the 2000 Democratic debates are front and center in 2004 and played an important part in securing John Edwards's strong second-place showing in Wisconsin against John Kerry. Dennis Kucinich, who marched with Wellstone in Seattle, and Howard Dean—who told the audience at the final debate before Wisconsin's vote, "We've globalized the rights of big corporations.... We did not globalize human rights, labor rights and environmental rights, and we need to do that"—deserve credit for pushing Kerry to begin rewriting his talking points on trade. But it is the increasingly populist campaign of Edwards that has forced Kerry to start getting specific about how he would break with the Clinton-Bush approach.

Gambling that he could make himself Kerry's chief challenger in Wisconsin by concentrating on trade issues, Edwards muscled up his class-focused "two Americas" speech to include a harsh critique of NAFTA and other trade deals, cut new TV commercials along the same lines and took his message on the road to union halls and ethnic clubs from Eau Claire to Wausau, to Janesville and the south side of Milwaukee, all of which have suffered, as Wisconsin has lost 75,000 manufacturing jobs during the Bush presidency. Wisely, Edwards also took the message to liberal Madison and to Republican-leaning counties around Milwaukee, where fears about the outsourcing of white-collar jobs are making trade policy a suburban issue. Even as Kerry tried to talk tough on trade, telling the final debate audience, "I will not sign a trade agreement like the Central American Free Trade Agreement or the Free Trade of the Americas Act that does not now embrace enforceable labor and environment standards," Edwards noted Kerry's support of NAFTA and other free trade agreements and told them, "Senator Kerry is entitled...to support free trade, as [he] always [has]."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Edwards's stronger-than-expected finish—he closed only six points behind Kerry after a late surge—ended any hope Dean had of emerging as the last serious challenger to Kerry, causing the Vermonter to end his campaign. But it also shook the Kerry camp, which rewrote the Senator's victory speech to include a promise to "insist on workers' rights and environmental rights and human rights in every trade agreement" and an Edwards-like pledge to "cut the poverty of millions, not the taxes of millionaires."

Edwards says he has the money and the momentum to take his trade message to Ohio, Georgia and upstate New York, as well as other "Super Tuesday" states that will vote March 2. But he'll be hindered by an unlikely group of Kerry allies: industrial unions that endorsed former House minority leader Dick Gephardt's failed campaign but switched their support to Kerry on the morning of the Wisconsin primary. Thus, unions that for more than a decade stood against the free-trade agenda will be pulling against the candidate who agrees with them. "Frankly, it's embarrassing," an AFL-CIO official admitted. He's right, but if Edwards keeps making trade an issue, Kerry might just learn from him, as he has from Dean, that the way to win the White House this year is to take stands that contrast sharply with those of the GOP. From Dean he learned to speak about Bush's unilateral war; from Edwards he appears to be learning that he must make a convincing case that he will change trade policy. Before the primaries are done, the still-too-staid Kerry might even come to understand that economic populism wins votes.

JOHN NICHOLS

Dean's Rough Ride

In forty years of observing presidential contests, I cannot remember another major candidate brutalized so intensely by the media, with the possible exception of George Wallace. Howard Dean contributed some fatal errors of his own, to be sure, but he also brought fresh air and new ideas, a crisp call to revitalize the Democratic Party and at least the outlines of deeper political and economic reforms. The reporters, as surrogate agents for Washington's insider sensibilities, blew him off. Dean's big mistake was in not recognizing, up front, that the media are very much part of the existing order and were bound to be hostile to his provocative kind of politics. To be heard, clearly and accurately, he would have had to find another channel.

For the record, reporters and editors deny that this occurred. Privately, they chortle over their accomplishment. At the Washington airport I ran into a bunch of them, including some old friends from long-ago campaigns, on their way to the next contest after Iowa. So, I remarked, you guys saved the Republic from the doctor. Yes, they assented with giggly pleasure, Dean was finished—though one newsmagazine correspondent confided the coverage would become more balanced once they went after Senator Kerry. Only Paul Begala of CNN demurred. "I don't know what you're talking about," Begala said, blank-faced. Nobody here but us gunslingers.

The party establishment, limp as it is, was correct to target Dean with tribal vengeance. From their narrow perspective, he represented a political Antichrist. The unvarnished way he talked. The glint of unfamiliar, breakthrough ideas in his speeches. His lack of customary deference to party elders (and to the media's own cockeyed definition of reality). What the insiders loathed are the same qualities many of us found exhilarating. I already feel nostalgia for his distinctive one-liners:

"Too many of our leaders have made a devil's bargain with corporate and wealthy interests, saying 'I'll keep you in power if you keep me in power.'"

"As long as half the world's population subsists on less than two dollars a day, the US will not be secure.... A world populated by 'hostile have-nots' is not one in which US leadership can be sustained without coercion."

"Over the last thirty years, we have allowed multinational corporations and other special interests to use our nation's government to undermine our nation's promise."

"There is something about human beings that corporations can't deal with and that's our soul, our spirituality, who we are. We need to find a way in this country to understand—and to help each other understand—that there is a tremendous price to be paid for the supposed efficiency of big corporations. The price is losing the sense of who we are as human beings."

"In our nation, the people are sovereign, not the government. It is the people, not the media or the financial system or mega-corporations or the two political parties, who have the power to create change."

Do you not remember those remarks? Dean's best lines—evocative suggestions rather than explicit policy pronouncements—were not widely reported. In his brisk, scattered manner, he was talking about power, inviting people to contemplate the deteriorated condition of our democracy, expressing his solidarity with their skepticism and alienation. Audiences responded, but this sort of talk was too soft and allusive to constitute "news." Dean's style was indeed "hot"—"angry," the reporters said—but they simply couldn't deal with his reflective side; it didn't fit the caricature.

Nor did they take much interest in concrete ideas, unless a rival accused him of heresy. Dean called for a labeling law for mutual funds—full disclosure on the fees they charge investors. He wanted a Fannie Mae for small business. And a national commission on how to restore democracy—no politicians allowed.

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

Ronnie Dugger argues that progressives should cast their Democratic primary ballots for Dennis Kucinich, "the only one who is proposing a profound reconsideration of our governmental priorities and the rejection of our degeneration into imperial warmaking." Also, Micah Sifry reports from the Digital Democracy Teach-In in San Diego, where "there was optimism in the air about the potential of the Internet to change the balance of power in America." Richard Lingeman reviews John Hess's *My* Times*: A Memoir of Dissent.* See www.thenation.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

He wanted to confront the concentration of oversized corporations and break up media conglomerates. In addition to full financial disclosure by corporations, Dean called for full social accounting: "Why shouldn't companies be accountable to investors and the public on other important matters like environmental standards and labor relations? Knowledge is power."

On political reform, he endorsed radical concepts like instant-runoff voting, which would enable third parties with ideas from either left or right to compete against Republicans and—good grief!—Democrats too. He called for a $100 tax credit for citizens who contribute to presidential campaigns—but available only to citizens on the bottom half of the income ladder. He wanted free airtime for "civic broadcasting" in election seasons—paid for by a spectrum fee charged to the broadcasters using our airwaves. These ideas and others perhaps sounded too fanciful, since neither party in Congress would have much enthusiasm for them. The dead hand of the past always feels threatened by a new guy with a different idea of what's possible.

OK, the doctor stuck his chin out, and he got his head knocked off. "Politics is a dirty business," as Hunter Thompson used to say. The Dean campaign—and the candidate himself—failed to define the man and his agenda on his own terms before the media and his rivals defined him, on theirs, as a one-note ranter. (The campaign did try, I know. Back in the fall, when I was invited to contribute ideas, Joe Trippi and others emphasized the need to go way beyond the Iraq war and lay out a far-sighted reform agenda. A few speeches were drafted, but by the time they were delivered the onslaught of attacks by the rivals and daily "gotchas" by the press was already under way, blocking them out.) I am reminded, by contrast, of the great communicator, Ronald Reagan, who early in the 1980 campaign began broadcasting content-rich commercials—the Gipper talking straight into the camera, articulating his views on government, enterprise, the welfare state and other big subjects—educating the public one-on-one, without filters. My hunch, only a hunch, is that Dean and his staff were beguiled by their own press clippings and poll ratings into thinking they would have plenty of time later (after they swept Iowa and New Hampshire) to flesh out their portrait of the man, and what he believes about the country's potential. Never happened.

Even had they done so, Dean might still have lost. The freshness of his style appealed to some but frightened others. His governing ideas were far more unconventional—outside Washington, some would say normal—than the caricature allowed. Still, no one should excuse the editors and reporters: Despite the multitude of media outlets, they collectively block out the content that seems disturbingly new, anything that doesn't conform to insider biases about what's possible.

Despite the spectacle of his cratered campaign, Howard Dean did accomplish something real for democracy. First, he confirmed the existence of an energetic, informed dissent within the husk of the Democratic Party. An amorphous force, to be sure, but I do not think it will go away. Don't hold me to the numbers, but one campaign veteran told me 70 percent of the citizens on Dean's much-admired computer list are over 30—a broader base than the stereotype. On the other hand, 25 percent of the money contributed came from people under 30—impressive too. The Dean campaign demonstrated, most dramatically, that people can make their own politics via the Internet and elsewhere by raising lots of money from outsiders, i.e., mere citizens.

This momentous knowledge is liberating—if people figure out how to use it in other places. I can imagine, for instance, insurgent challenges launched by young unknowns against Congressional incumbents, especially in Democratic primaries. Most of these incumbents haven't faced serious opposition in years. At a minimum, it would scare the crap out of them—always healthy for politicians. In my Washington experience, nothing alters voting behavior in Congress like seeing a few of their colleagues taken down by surprise—defeated by an outsider whose ideas they did not take seriously.

What the Dean campaign clearly did not accomplish (in addition to formulating a smart countermedia strategy) was to find ways to develop the flesh-and-blood relationships that can become enduring building blocks in politics—de Tocqueville's "associations" or labor's "collective action." The Meet-Ups are a rough start. MoveOn.org is an impressive organizing engine. We may be witnessing the early stages of small-d democratic renewal, in which people impose new technologies and new social realities on tired old institutions. As Howard Dean's rough ride reminds, established power, including the media, will resist change tenaciously. But the doctor may yet be remembered as the herald of something new.

WILLIAM GREIDER

Israel's Failing Wall

Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offence.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall...
(from "Mending Wall," Robert Frost)

Tel Aviv

It used to take ten minutes to ride from the village of Azariya to the Old City that divides West (Jewish) and East (Arab) Jerusalem. Following the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000, Israeli soldiers set up a checkpoint across the main (only) street that links the West Bank with Jerusalem. As the cycle of violence increased, with Palestinian suicide bombers striking at Israeli civilians in Jerusalem buses and cafes, the Israeli army built a six-foot-high wall across the street. That stopped cars from crossing, but enterprising Palestinians placed boulders on both sides of the wall, enabling men going to work, youth going to school, old men with canes and women with shopping bags to climb back and forth. People would pass babies over the barrier like an old-time bucket brigade. Entrepreneurial souls even set up makeshift stands to sell goods and produce on both sides of the wall, a spontaneous Middle Eastern souk. Taxis took travelers to one side of the wall, they climbed over, and were picked up on the other side by another taxi to continue on their way. Sometimes bored soldiers stood alongside the wall and spot-checked people, but more often than not there was just the wall, and a semblance of normal life continued.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

A few weeks ago the residents of Azariya suddenly awoke to discover that a hulking, twelve-foot-high granite wall was emerging in place of the six-foot obstacle. It wound its way up and down hills like a gloomy medieval dragon, casting a dark shadow over the area. An outsider could immediately sense the dispirited pessimism that overtook Azariya. All the stores on both sides of the wall closed, almost overnight. It was like a scene from a novel by García Márquez.

This granite monstrosity—there's nothing even slightly aesthetic about it—is part of the "Jerusalem envelope" built to protect the citizens of Jerusalem, Jewish and Palestinian, since both are random victims of the suicide bombers.

And now the wall is going to The Hague, to the International Court of Justice (the World Court), with hearings beginning on February 23.

Originally a fence/wall was proposed by Labor Party members as a temporary security barrier until negotiations for a permanent settlement could resume and reach fruition. The idea was that it would run more or less along the Green Line that separates the State of Israel from the West Bank. The right, including Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, was opposed to the idea, because it implied recognition of the pre-1967 borders as the eventual dividing line between Israel and a future Palestinian state. However, as Sharon proved unable to provide the "peace and security" he promised in his election campaign, the idea of a security barrier began to look more appealing, particularly when compared with a political initiative that would require genuine and "painful" (his words) compromises. The settler lobby insisted that the barrier should include as many West Bank settlements on the Israeli side as possible, so the barrier kept moving eastward, encompassing more and more settlers and Palestinian villagers—tens of thousands of them. It cut off farmers from their lands, children from their schools and workers from their sources of livelihood, uprooting ancient olive trees in the process.

The Israeli government is clearly concerned about the fact that the UN General Assembly has asked the World Court for an advisory opinion on the issue. The government submitted an affidavit to the Court arguing that it has no legal authority to rule on the issue but decided not to send representatives to participate in the deliberations. Meanwhile, two Israeli NGOs have submitted petitions to the Israeli Supreme Court arguing the illegality of a separation barrier in occupied territory, the declaration of the adjacent area as a closed military zone and the access permit system, which "gravely infringes the rights of thousands of Palestinian residents, and could potentially destroy the social fabric and compel the residents to flee their homes." Says Association for Civil Rights in Israel spokesperson Yoav Loeff, "We believe that Israel has the right to defend itself, and wouldn't be opposed to a separation barrier if it were located along the Green Line."

Regardless of how the World Court and the Israeli Supreme Court rule on the issue, the Israeli government is already on the defensive. With the specter of the beginnings of a South Africa–type international boycott looming over the horizon, Sharon has begun to waver. And "Sharon-gate"—the police investigation into bribery charges against his sons, in which he himself is implicated—hasn't helped matters. Thus his sudden readiness to reconsider the route of the separation barrier, to make it coincide more closely with the Green Line. Thus also his surprising announcement that all of the 7,500 Jewish settlers who live among 1.4 million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip will eventually have to return to Israel. However, as most Israeli pundits note, with Sharon the question is always, Will his words be followed by deeds? So far, it's only words.

Najat Hirbawi, circulation manager of the *Palestine-Israel Journal*, lives in Azariya. She says there are three ways of coping with the new walled-off reality. She and her family have moved to East Jerusalem, to guarantee access to work; those who can afford it choose this option. A second option open to bearers of foreign passports is simply to leave—to Canada, the United States, Europe or Latin America. Left behind are the poor, the less educated, less mobile, many of them depressed and very angry.

The irony is that one can see a mirror image on the Israeli side. A growing number of the young, the ambitious, the more highly educated and the mobile are thinking of leaving. Are we, both Israelis and Palestinians, in the process of turning back the clock to the days when Mark Twain visited almost 150 years ago and saw only a miserable and backward population, described in *The Innocents Abroad*—with the modern addition of unhealthy doses of religious fundamentalism on both sides of the divide? Or will we, with the aid of the international community, rediscover the life force necessary to generate an equitable solution to our bloody conflict?

The Hebrew University's noted military historian Professor Martin van Creveld says that walls for security purposes have worked—in Berlin, Cyprus and Korea. Yet when a few Knesset members recently returned from a visit to China they described how their guide took them to visit the Great Wall and proudly noted that it is the only man-made structure visible from space. "However," he said as a lesson to would-be wall-builders, "it didn't succeed in keeping out the Mongols." HILLEL SCHENKER

Hillel Schenker, a Tel Aviv journalist, is managing editor of the Palestine-Israel Journal.

CALVIN TRILLIN

NEW (SORT OF) ISSUE

Bush trotted out his whoppers with tranquillity,
Because the press responded with docility.
His goal was war. In order to fulfill it, he
Exaggerated threats and volatility.
But now his tales are showing their fragility.
At last, the question's Bush's credibility.

Yes, suddenly, zap!
The man's got a gap.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

'Outsourcing' Our Lives

by Frank LaGrotta

Thursday, February 5

I am talking to a man about disposable diapers, the ones babies wear. This man knows a lot about diapers, because he once worked in a diaper factory. He worked there for over a decade, until last year when the plant shut down and moved its operations to Mexico. He says it was something about how, all of a sudden, it became too expensive to make diapers in western Pennsylvania. I figure it was more like something about how, all of a sudden, somebody figured out how to make a hell of a lot more money making diapers in Mexico.

Color me cynical, but I've seen it before. The small town where I live, and that I've represented in the Pennsylvania State House for the past eighteen years, was once a center for manufacturing. In its heyday Ellwood City, which is located about thirty-five miles north of Pittsburgh, employed more than twice as many steelworkers (over 17,000 during World War II) as its present total population of 8,200.

Steel moved to Brazil, and Panama, and Korea, and...

We found a lamp manufacturer to move into the empty building. The new lamp-makers didn't pay as well as the old steelmakers, but 600 jobs was, well, 600 jobs. I say *was* because those lamps are now made in China.

Like I said, color me cynical, but diapers made in Mexico does not surprise me. Right now, however, the man whose life depended on those diapers is desperate. He does not want a history lesson. He wants a job, and he wants me to help him find one. I wish I could. All I can do is listen to him, as I've listened to so many others like him who come to me believing (hoping?) I can get them a job. I know that when he's finished, I will tell him I can't get him a job, even though that's not what he wants to hear. He's already been betrayed enough by his government, even though he may not know it, so the last thing I want to do is give him false hope, which means I must tell him the truth—that despite whatever he may have been told by a neighbor, or cousin, or buddy at the pool hall, there are no state highway department jobs available. In fact, there are no state jobs available in any department. I skip the part about Pennsylvania having the lowest ratio of state employees per capita in the nation and about how the recession has forced our governor, Edward Rendell, to try to reduce the payroll even more and yadda, yadda, yadda. Somehow, I doubt if knowing that would make him feel much better.

Tuesday, February 10

George W. Bush's Council of Economic Advisers released its annual report to Congress yesterday, and I am reading about it in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. When I come to the part where council chairman N. Gregory Mankiw says that "outsourcing" American jobs actually is good for the economy, I am reminded, once again, how creative the Washington wordsmiths can be (lest we forget: "Weapons of mass destruction–related program activities"). I must admit that "outsourcing" is a much tidier way of describing how rich guys are shipping millions of American jobs to places where they are free to destroy the environment and disregard human rights—little-known places where they can pay human beings, some of whom hardly are old enough to go to school (assuming there is a school for them to go to), pennies a day to make things that will be shipped back to America and sold to the same people who once made the same things before the same rich guys "outsourced" their jobs.

I think about all the steel, and lamps, and diapers that were once made in western Pennsylvania. I think about the man I spoke with five days earlier. I wonder if I should call and tell him the President believes that "outsourcing" his job was "good for the economy." Maybe that would make him feel better. I decide it probably would not. I read on.

Mankiw admits there may be some short-term pain in this, but he quickly adds that Americans shouldn't worry because "outsourcing is just a new way of doing international trade. More things are tradable than were tradable in the past. And that's a good thing."

This is confusing to me. What are we trading here? As I see it, America is sending jobs to other countries. America's rich people are getting richer. America's working people are getting poorer because they are no longer working. Is it me? Am I missing something here?

I wonder if Mankiw thinks *all* Americans should not worry, or just those Americans whose jobs have not been "outsourced." Most likely the latter, I decide. I reread the statement, "more things are tradable than were tradable in the past." What "things" is he talking about? Jobs? Lives? Futures? Have these things now become "tradable" commodities, like baseball cards?

"I'll trade you four lamp-factory jobs for a spot in a diaper factory and a specialty steel-mill gig"?

I wonder if George Bush believes this. I doubt it, I tell myself. George Bush is a "compassionate conservative."

Compassion: A feeling of empathy, concern, care...

Outsourcing: Treats working Americans like waste products of a Robin-Hood-in-reverse strategy to rob from the poor and give to the rich.

No, I convince myself. It can't be. A compassionate conservative—a compassionate doorknob—would not knowingly consider other people with such disdain. It is bad enough that some of these people already have no jobs; many have lost their healthcare. Some have no money to heat their home, and some have no home to heat. They've learned to stretch a dollar the way they believe politicians stretch the truth, because they don't know when—or if—they'll get another paycheck. All they know is their kids get hungry at suppertime, and the drugstore still wants paid if the baby needs more medicine to make her ear stop hurting.

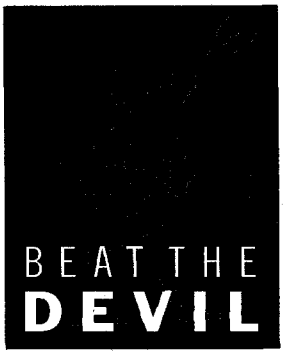
President Bush certainly cares about them... Right?

Frank LaGrotta has served eight terms in the Pennsylvania State Legislature, where he is chairman of the Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on the Capitol Budget.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Kerry: He's Peaking



Kerry has the nomination almost within his grasp, and has also emerged from the bruising kiss of imputed scandal. Unless Ms. Alex Polier or some other woman inconveniently crops up again, Teresa Heinz won't have to wield the carving knife she has threatened to use on her husband's private parts if his path to the White House is derailed by sexual scandal. Polier notwithstanding, never has a candidate had to put up with less in the way of the baptism of sewage that is a vital part of the primary process. Dean and Clark drew all the fire. Edwards, who could carve up Kerry in a minute, has adamantly refused to deploy his forensic artillery.

Did Kerry have the jaunty mien of triumph, that night of victory in Madison? Not that I could see. His long face, albeit abbreviated by corrective surgery, remained lugubrious, and he stumbled his way tiredly through Bob Shrum's phrases. The one thing all Democrats this year want is a winner. He doesn't look like a winner to me. Right now some polls show Kerry a few points ahead of Bush. But at time of writing, February 18, trend lines in other polls show Kerry slipping behind Bush after peaking on February 15. Karl Rove has yet to launch the Shock and Awe barrage that will explode over Kerry's head sometime in late summer, after the Democrats have got their boost in Boston.

Rove's targeting plans will obviously include such easy but telling hits as Kerry's support for Bush's tax cuts for the rich. (If elected President, according to the bean counters at *Forbes*, Kerry will be the third-richest denizen of the Oval Office in American history.) Kerry voted for the Patriot Act, and he voted for the '03 attack on Iraq. And this wasn't just a resigned or furtive aye. Kerry was up there with Bush, Rumsfeld and Blair as a huckster for all the lies that have come home to haunt Washington. "These weapons represent an unacceptable threat," he bellowed in the fall of 2002. Not only nuclear weapons of mass destruction. "Iraq has some lethal and incapacitating agents and is capable of quickly producing and weaponizing a variety of such agents, including anthrax, for delivery on a range of vehicles such as bombs, missiles, aerial sprayers, and covert operatives which could bring them to the United States homeland." Kerry's bottom line: "The President laid out a strong, comprehensive, and compelling argument why Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs are a threat to the United States and the international community."

Kerry agrees with Bush about the tax cuts. He agrees with him about the Patriot Act. He agrees with him on trade. He agrees with him on the war. "Why change horses?" Bush will ask the American people. "I can manage things better," Kerry will respond. What else can he say? He's never once, in three Senate terms, offered legislation to inconvenience the "special interests" at which he's lately launched a few pop-gun attacks.

This is where the timid legions of the left, cowed by furious bluster about their treachery in deserting the Democratic standard back in 2000, might ask some serious questions, and maybe even threaten desertion again. All Kerry can offer is superior management of the imperial bandwagon at home and abroad. Defense? Move over, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz! To cleanse the Augean stable with those fragrant heaps of procurement cash handed out to Bush and Cheney's cronies, Kerry has a broom in the form of his defense adviser, William Perry. Not a clean broom, mind you. Perry, a notorious shill for the avionics sector when he ran the Pentagon's R&D in the Carter years, drew deserved fire in Clinton time for being the first Defense Secretary allowed to hold investments in a military contractor, Cambridge Research Associates, doing business with the Defense Department.

The War on Drugs? National security advice? Kerry has Rand Beers, who served as Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs under Presidents Bush and Clinton. Beers was one of the architects of the aerial crop-fumigation program the United States introduced in southern Colombia, when the State Department hired the private military contractor DynCorp to fly crop dusters at high altitudes, spraying poison on all the vegetation and, often, peasants below. Beers's terrible role in Colombia was recently stigmatized by Sean Donahue of the Massachusetts Anti-Corporate Clearinghouse. Beers had scant concern for peasants, with their only means of subsistence, whether coca or legal yucca, wiped out. "One doesn't get a special pass for being poor," he told ABC's John Stossel (a sentiment with which Kerry surely concurs, since he voted for Clinton's onslaught on welfare).

How about oil and empire? Right next to Beers on Kerry's national security team is Richard Morningstar, whose career was usefully dissected by Laura Flanders not so long ago. An inside player to be sure. He was an executive at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a notorious swill-bin for corporate plunder, then became Clinton's oil ambassador to Central Asia, where he rubbed shoulder pads with Condoleezza Rice, at that time Chevron's envoy prospecting capture of the region's vast oil reserves.

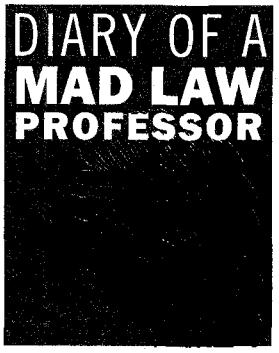
But isn't Kerry at least a living reproach to the horrors of the Vietnam War? Not really. He's got his medals back up on the office wall, and here's what he wrote in *A Call to Service*, his campaign bio: "I could never agree with those in the antiwar movement who dismissed our troops as war criminals or our country as the villain in the drama.... As a veteran of both the Vietnam war and the Vietnam protest movement, I say to both conservative and liberal misinterpretations of that war it's time to get over it and recognize it as an exception, not as a ruling example, of the US military engagements of the twentieth century."

Kerry advocates a "tough-minded strategy of international engagement." Kerry over Bush, Bush over Kerry? As regards impact on humanity, it's hard to figure how big a slice of the earth's inhabitants would register a dime's worth of difference between the two, or even a genome's worth, for that matter. After all, they are cousins. Sixteenth cousins. Why, in San Francisco right now they could legally get married. They've been close for years. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Wedlockstep



When I was quite young, my entire image of marriage was filtered through the bible of *Bride Magazine*. I thought about how lovely I would look in white tulle, and about the kind of love that could turn frogs into princes and pumpkins into coaches. My head spun with romantic images, as well as religious ones, cobbled from one part Jane Austen, one part "Colored Francie"—the first black Barbie Doll—and five parts earnest prayer that I would one day end up at an altar vowing eternal fealty to someone with just a quarter of Paul McCartney's manly virtues. It was a bit of a lead balloon as fantasies go, weighted down with enough political confusion to spell doom for all actual suitors.

Years later, I went to law school and realized that there was a parallel universe. Here, there was also something called marriage, but it was first and foremost a subspecies of contract. In this decidedly unfrilly model, the marriage bureau acts as a kind of repository where individuals formally register their intentions regarding the sharing of private wealth, responsibility in case of emergencies or death, and the distribution of any public benefits for which they may be eligible. If a "will" disposes of property after death, marriage in the eyes of the state was a kind of contract that assigned the benefits of the same estate during life. Indeed, the litigation that made it into our textbooks almost always involved spouses with sufficient resources to fight over.

It was simple and unadorned when you thought about it like that. The essence of all contract law is to provide a way of allowing people to privately order their lives and for the state to remain outside the maelstrom of emotions that would be involved if there were no expectations about who gets what when two individuals and their families hitch their fates to the same pool of property. A marriage license is a way of saying that one's spouse and/or the children will inherit rather than having the kind of disorder that would ensue if a random judge were always to split the goodies among nearest and not so dearest. Given the straightforwardness of this structure, I see no reason that gays, elderly or friends shouldn't be able to "marry" in the eyes of the state, as long as the parties are of sufficient rationality and age to consent.

To be sure, I'm being a bit facile. Marriage has also long been infused with the notion of "welfare." The general health, safety and welfare of the population is certainly something that the state has a legitimate interest in—but when legislators have tried to regulate morals through marriage laws, they have sometimes built in unwarranted presumptions about fitness, often based on religious notions. We need child welfare laws to protect minors, for example, regardless of the marital status or sexual orientation of their parents. And a woman's right to vote, contract, or dispose of her own property was once legally subordinated to that of her husband, based on the justification that God made man the provider.

Similarly, antimiscegenation laws prohibited blacks and whites from intermarrying for fear of degrading the general welfare. A dissent in a 1948 case overruling California's antimiscegenation laws argued that there was "a great deal of evidence to support the legislative determination...that intermarriage between Negroes and white persons is incompatible with the general welfare and therefore a proper subject for regulation under the police power." Although a dissent, it was language specifically cited in 1959 by Bush-appointee Judge Charles Pickering for its "vigor" and persuasive value when endorsing the validity of a Mississippi statute making it a felony for interracial couples to live as husband and wife or otherwise engage in "adultery or fornication."

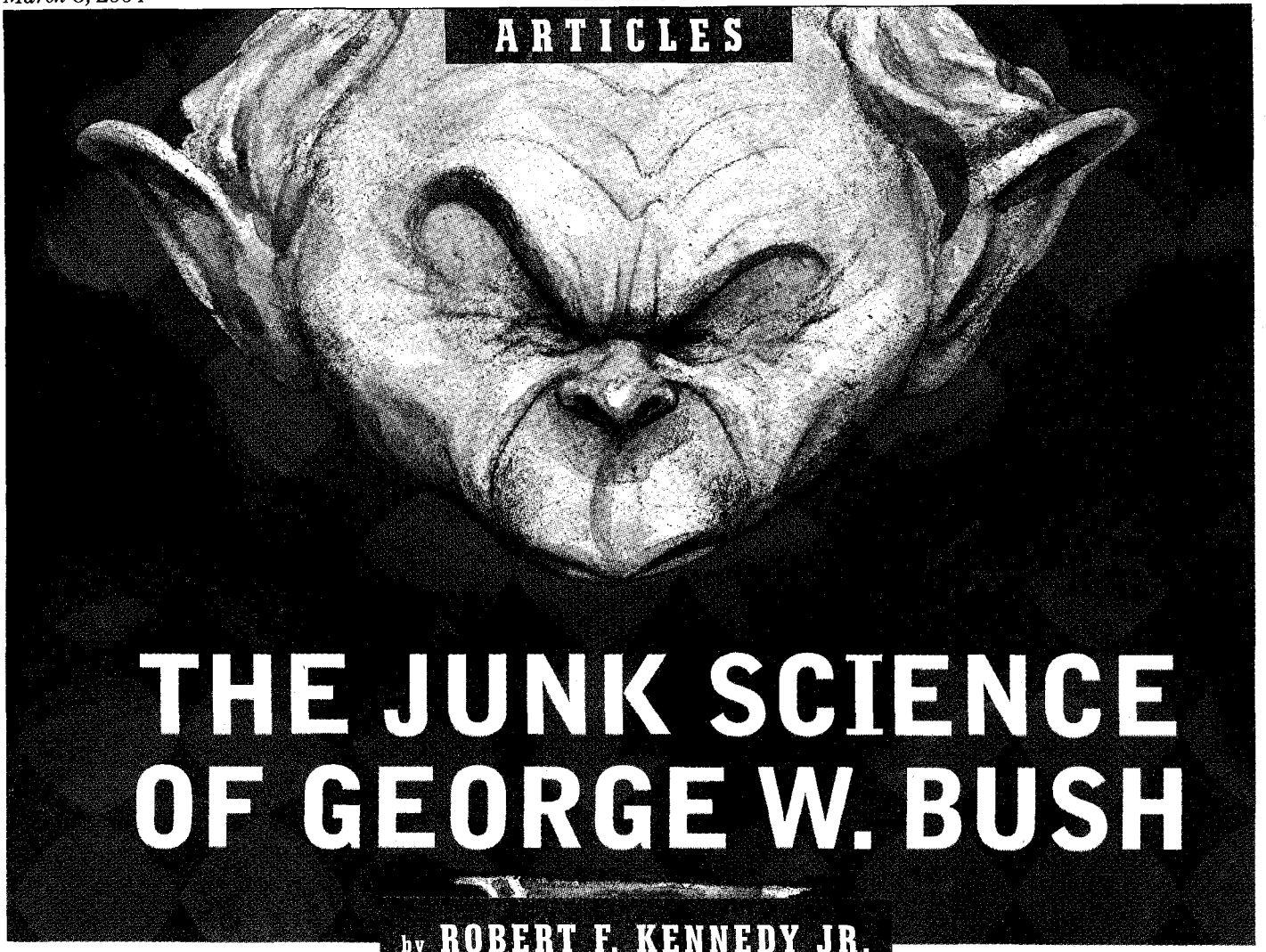
In 2001, however, Judge Pickering testified that "who one marries is a personal choice and there should be no legislation on that." If this is a true statement of principle, then we should all look forward to Pickering's applying that standard in the first gay marriage case that comes before him. In current debates about gay marriage, however, one hears a great deal about its incompatibility with general welfare, and how children have "rights" to both a father and a mother. (I have never quite understood why the sanctity of heterosexual marriage should make Pamela Anderson or Courtney Love presumptively better parents than J. and V., two female students of mine who met in my class years ago, who've been together as a couple for more than seventeen years, who've raised a nice, law-abiding son and who recently sent me a very nice photo of themselves getting married in San Francisco.)

Similarly, national debates about single motherhood have by and large not assisted those who raise children by themselves and against the odds, but rather only served to demonize. Shortly after I'd adopted my son, I remember debating a man from the Christian Coalition who would not shake my hand because I had "made a mockery" of fatherhood by choosing to become a single parent—he would only greet those from "two-parent households." He was a religious ideologue, and I accept that. But the state governs us all; it really cannot legislate whether one is fortunate enough to find love or with whom. Indeed, the Bush Administration's recent proposals to "encourage" marriage strike me as just west of absurd.

The current national debate about the nature of marriage is, of course, the latest manifestation of a Puritan anxiety about sex and God's punishment and the "natural" order of things. But it is also about the role of courts and "activist" judges—although, alas, not Judge Pickering. When this issue rises to the level of constitutional amendment, we tie the hand of the judiciary as a whole. And when our debate begins to echo with calls for practices that "all the major religions have shared for thousands of years," as one hears so often recently, then we must wonder if we are ready to dust off the Scarlet A, or deliver the family manse to the eldest boy, or prohibit the sale of contraception, or marry widows off to their brothers-in-law. It's a course inconsistent with the separation of church and state. It is a violation of civil rights that did not start—and will not stop—with the demonization of gays. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES



THE JUNK SCIENCE OF GEORGE W. BUSH

by ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.

As Jesuit schoolboys studying world history we learned that Copernicus and Galileo self-censored for many decades their proofs that the earth revolved around the sun and that a less restrained heliocentrist, Giordano Bruno, was burned alive in 1600 for the crime of sound science. With the encouragement of our professor, Father Joyce, we marveled at the capacity of human leaders to corrupt noble institutions. Lust for power had caused the Catholic hierarchy to subvert the church's most central purpose—the search for existential truths.

Today, flat-earthers within the Bush Administration—aided by right-wing allies who have produced assorted hired guns and conservative think tanks to further their goals—are engaged in a campaign to suppress science that is arguably unmatched in the Western world since the Inquisition. Sometimes, rather than suppress good science, they simply order up their own. Meanwhile, the Bush White House is purging, censoring and blacklisting scientists and engineers whose work threatens the profits of the Administration's corporate paymasters or challenges the ideological underpinnings of their radical anti-environmental agenda. Indeed, so extreme is this campaign that more than sixty scientists, including Nobel laureates and medical experts, released a statement on February 18 that accuses the Bush Administration of deliberately distorting scientific fact "for partisan political ends."

I've had my own experiences with Torquemada's modern successors, both personal and related to my work as an environmental lawyer and advocate working for the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Waterkeeper Alliance.

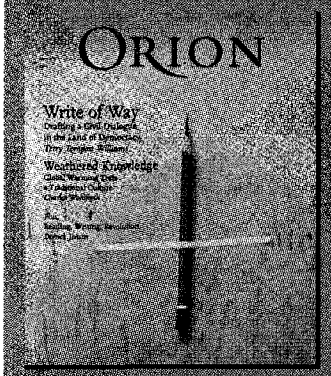
At the time of the World Trade Center catastrophe on September 11, 2001, I had just opened an office at 115 Broadway, catercorner from the World Trade Center and within the official security zone to which access was, afterward, restricted for several months. Upon returning to the office in October my partner, Kevin Madonna, suffered a burning throat, nausea and a headache that was still pounding twenty-four hours after he left the building. Despite the Environmental Protection Agency's claims that air quality was safe, Kevin refused to return and we closed the office. Many workers did not have that option; their employers relied on the EPA's nine press releases between September and December of 2001 reassuring the public about the wholesome air quality downtown. We have since learned that the government was lying to us. An Inspector General's report released last August revealed that the EPA's data did not support those assurances and that its press releases were being drafted or doctored by White House officials intent on reopening Wall Street.

On September 13, just two days after the terror attack, the EPA announced that asbestos dust in the area was "very low" or entirely absent. On September 18 the agency said the air was "safe to breathe." In fact, more than 25 percent of the samples collected by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You get the world you choose

ORION
MAGAZINE



In the Mar/Apr issue of *Orion* Magazine

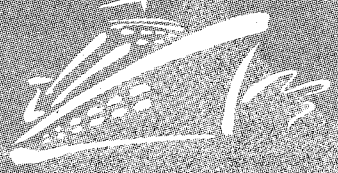
Terry Tempest Williams
Freedom of Expression
Drafting a Civil Dialogue in the Land of Democracy (part 1 of 3)

also: Canary in the Arctic
Global Warming Tests a Traditional Culture

Become Engaged. Choose your world.

Subscribe now, read excerpts, or request a free copy online at www.oriononline.org or call toll-free 800-[illegible]

orion**online**.org



SAVE THE DATE!

The Nation's Seventh Annual Seminar Cruise

December 5–12

Sailing from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, with port stops in St. Martin, Tortola and the Bahamas in the Eastern Carribbean

Call today to be the first to receive our Cruise Information Kit.

Call toll free, (888) 833-4339, or e-mail your mailing address to: groups@tcacruise.com.

Watch these pages for coming details on the speakers and itinerary.

the EPA before September 18 showed presence of asbestos above the 1 percent safety benchmark. Among outside studies, one performed by scientists at the University of California, Davis, found particulates at levels never before seen in more than 7,000 similar tests worldwide. A study being performed by Mt. Sinai School of Medicine has found that 78 percent of rescue workers suffered lung ailments and 88 percent had ear, nose and throat problems in the months following the attack and that about half still had persistent lung and respiratory illnesses nine months to a year later.

Dan Tishman, whose company was involved in the reconstruction at 140 West Street, required his crews to wear respirators but recalls seeing many rescue and construction workers laboring unprotected—no doubt relying on the government's assurances. "The frustrating thing is that everyone just counts on the EPA to be the watchdog of public health," he says. "When that role is compromised, people can get hurt."

I also recall the case of Dr. James Zahn, a nationally respected microbiologist with the Agriculture Department's research service, who accepted my invitation to speak to an April 2002 conference of more than 1,000 family farm advocates and environmental and civic leaders in Clear Lake, Iowa. In a rigorous taxpayer-funded study, Zahn had identified bacteria that can make people sick—and that are resistant to antibiotics—in the air surrounding industrial-style hog farms. His studies proved that billions of these "superbugs" were traveling across property lines daily, endangering the health of neighbors and their herds. I was shocked when Zahn canceled his appearance on the day of the conference under orders from the Agriculture Department in Washington. I later uncovered a fax trail proving the order was prompted by lobbyists from the National Pork Producers Council. Zahn told me that his supervisor at the USDA, under pressure from the hog industry, had ordered him not to publish his study and that he had been forced to cancel more than a dozen public appearances at local planning boards and county health commissions seeking information about health impacts of industry mega-farms. Soon after my conference, Zahn resigned from the government in disgust.

Ignoring Bad News

The Bush Administration's first instinct when it comes to science has been to suppress, discredit or alter facts it doesn't like. Probably the best-known case is global warming. Over the past two years the Administration has done this to a dozen major government studies on global warming, as well as to a report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, in its own efforts to stall action to control industrial emissions. The list also includes major long-term studies by the federal government's National Research Council and National Academy of Sciences, and by scientific teams at the EPA, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and NASA, and a 2002 collaborative report by scientists at all three of those agencies.

The Administration has taken special pains to shield Vice

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., senior attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council and president of the Waterkeeper Alliance, is working on a book about President Bush's environmental policies, Crimes Against Nature, *to be published this spring by HarperCollins.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saving the Environment

Biologists have a term for species whose habitats or gene pools are so diminished that extinction is only a matter of time: "the living dead." The Bush Administration has banished many of our most important environmental protections to this limbo. The Clean Air Act is still on the books but is not being enforced. The national forests that Teddy Roosevelt mapped out still show in green on the map, but on the ground chainsaws are converting them into clearcuts and tree farms. Superfund, bankrupt, is a shadow of itself; polluters no longer fear it. The Clean Water Act still calls for swimmable streams and fishable rivers, but its jurisdiction no longer includes the huge factory feedlots or some 60 percent of the nation's wetland habitat. What we have not lost is love for the land—the same love that runs in a powerful undercurrent throughout US history.

Here are ten steps to reverse the Bush initiatives and transform the nation.

1. Require auto makers to make cars, SUVs and light trucks that go farther on a gallon of gas. Improved technology will reduce our dependence on Middle East oil, shrink our 25 percent contribution to global warming and reduce our trade deficit, while enabling us to save money at the gas pump, clean up air pollution and reinvigorate the Big Three automakers. We should also put a tax on fuel inefficiency, which could be used to subsidize the purchase of efficient vehicles and help build new auto plants.

2. Reindustrialize America by creating a twenty-first-century energy industry. Our highest energy priorities are still cheap gasoline and big domestic coal and oil industries—an indefensible policy for a society that burns 25 percent of the world's oil but has only 5 percent of its population and 3 percent of its oil reserves. The amount of electricity we could generate from solar power, wind and other renewables is limited largely by our investments. The labor-backed Apollo Project calls for investing $300 billion in innovation and efficiency: high-performance buildings, efficient factories, energy-efficient appliances and better mass transit as well as efficient hybrid vehicles. These programs could create 3.3 million new manufacturing jobs.

3. Install modern air-pollution control equipment in old power plants, refineries and factories. The owners of these plants have had thirty years to clean them up; it's time to pull the plug. Proposed legislation would require all plants to be cleaned up by the time they are forty years old, or by 2014 at the latest. Cleaning up pollution from just the fifty-one plants that the Clinton Administration sued would save between 4,300 and 7,000 lives a year and prevent between 80,000 and 120,000 asthma attacks.

4. Restore the Superfund tax. Getting the program back up and running, with the polluters rather than their victims paying for it, is the first step. There are 1,200 facilities on the list today, and probably another 600 that ought to be added. If Congress restores the tax, we can get back to cleaning up eighty sites a year.

5. Reinstate the environmental protections enjoyed by our national forests, rivers, wetlands, wildlife habitat and public lands as recently as January 21, 2001. Restoring these safeguards will leave us with a core of wild country that can act as a repository and nursery for endangered and threatened species fighting for survival, and as a sanctuary where future Americans can find renewal and inspiration.

6. Restore rural America. Right now we're spending $18 billion a year on agricultural subsidies, 70 percent of which go to the largest agribusinesses, drive family farmers out of business and destroy rural communities. The subsidies even affect other nations: Subsidized US corn, for example, drives Mexican farmers into urban slums. That $18 billion could help small farmers, restore wildlife habitat, clean up rural waterways and reduce erosion and pesticide use. Rural America would have more jobs, rural families would have better health and more economic security, the quality of our food supply would be enhanced and the country's air and water would be cleaner and healthier.

7. Retire Smokey Bear. If we invest $2 billion a year to thin trees in Community Protection Zones—the quarter-mile perimeters around homes or towns that firefighters need to stop wildfires from destroying structures—we should be able to safeguard most communities from fire danger within five years. We need to give priority to community protection over timber preservation.

8. Restore our national patrimony of public lands. Phase out the Forest Service's commercial timber program and manage our national forest system for public benefits like wildlife, recreation and watershed protection. We also need to keep the promise Congress made to use royalties from oil and gas drilling to fund the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.

9. Solve the sewage problem. Restore watershed quality and, where necessary, separate stormwater and sewage systems. Deal with the problem of runoff from farms, feedlots and logging and development sites. Thousands of beaches are still closed every year because of inadequately treated sewage, and 40 percent of our waterways are not safe to swim in.

10. Rejoin the world. The rest of the planet is waiting for us to join the coalition of the environmentally willing. Our agreement alone could put the Kyoto Protocol into effect. We also need to rejoin such international initiatives as the proposed conventions to reduce emissions of mercury, protect rain forests, stop overfishing and preserve biodiversity. On trade policy, we need to start by fixing the North American Free Trade Agreement, not by signing new agreements that embody all of its flaws.

We need to make our political leaders accountable. They are supposed to be the stewards of our dreams and aspirations as a society; they work for us, however different it may sometimes seem. The Bush Administration has been intent on taking us backward. But this crabbed, Hobbesian spirit of social Darwinism has been bested before, and we can overcome it again. After that, the future will be ours to make. CARL POPE AND PAUL RAUBER

Carl Pope, the executive director of the Sierra Club, and Paul Rauber, a senior editor at Sierra *magazine, are co-authors of the forthcoming* Strategic Ignorance: Why the Bush Administration Is Recklessly Destroying a Century of Environmental Progress *(Sierra Club Books), from which this article is adapted.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Scopes Trials

What if the research agenda of the University of Texas College of Natural Sciences were drafted not by the professors who actually conduct the studies but by, say, the alumni who funded the department? We might end up with research on the stickiness of Mr. Big's brand of glue instead of the development of an AIDS vaccine. Luckily, most research universities don't work that way. The federal government, however, occasionally does. In the Bush Administration, when the religious right or big business weighs in on a matter of science, politics usually prevails. So while this President may lack the powerful eloquence of William Jennings Bryan, in the world of science he's the modern equivalent of the Great Orator defeating the infidels of evolution in the Scopes Trial of 1925.

Scientific panels and committees have proven especially susceptible to political manipulation by the White House. In one revealing case, Bush & Co. intervened at the precise moment that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Advisory Committee on Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention was set to consider once again lowering acceptable blood-lead levels in response to new scientific evidence. The Administration rejected nominee Bruce Lanphear and dumped panel member Michael Weitzman, both of whom previously advocated lowering the legal limit. Instead, Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson appointed William Banner—who had testified on behalf of lead companies in poison-related litigation—and Joyce Tsuji, who had worked for a consulting firm whose clients include a lead smelter. (She later withdrew.) Banner and another appointee, Sergio Piomelli, were first contacted about serving on the committee not by a member of the Administration but by lead-industry representatives who appeared to be recruiting favorable committee members with the blessing of HHS officials.

The supposedly nonpartisan President's Council on Bioethics—a panel whose creation Bush announced during his much publicized stem-cell speech of August 2001—proved susceptible to a different arm of his political base, the far right. The council is the organization charged with leading America through the murky waters of cloning and other genetic research. But instead of appointing a calm voice to lead those difficult discussions, President Bush chose Leon Kass, a University of Chicago bioethicist who opposed in vitro fertilization in the 1970s on the basis of Brave New World–esque fears of reproduction run amok and likes to refer to abortion as "feticide." In a recent issue of *The Public Interest*, Kass lamented that today's young women live "the entire decade of their twenties—their most fertile years—neither in the homes of their fathers nor in the homes of their husbands; unprotected, lonely...." He is hostile to everything from "woman on the pill" to sex education and believes children of divorce are "maimed for love and intimacy."

A similar case of politically inspired panel-stacking involved the CDC's National Center for Environmental Health, which reviews research and makes suggestions on a range of public health policy issues. When advisory committee members came up for renewal, committee chair Dr. Thomas Burke was surprised to learn that fifteen of the panel's eighteen members were going to be replaced. In the past, HHS had asked Burke for a list of recommendations; this time, it had its own list, and Burke was not on it. The new panel included chemical company favorite Lois Swirsky Gold, who denies many of the links between pollutants and cancer, and Dennis Paustenbach, who testified for Pacific Gas & Electric in the real-life Erin Brockovich court case.

None of this should be surprising from an Administration that sees nothing wrong with conducting an ideological litmus test for potential scientific appointees. For example, William Miller, a nominee to the National Advisory Council on Drug Abuse, was contacted by Secretary Thompson's office after he'd been asked to consider the appointment. The caller, according to Miller, asked whether he'd voted for President Bush. When he confessed that he had not, he was asked to explain himself, and did not receive a callback.

The scientific community has balked at these decisions and appointment practices. The American Public Health Association released an official policy statement in November 2002 that objected to "recent steps by government officials at the federal level to restructure key federal scientific and public health advisory committees by retiring the committees before their work is completed, removing or failing to reappoint qualified members, and replacing them with less scientifically qualified candidates and candidates with a clear conflict of interest. Such steps suggest an effort to inappropriately influence these committees."

Science magazine published an editorial signed by ten prominent US scientists railing against Bush's appropriation of the nation's scientific advisory committees and panels for political purposes. One of those scientists, Dr. Lynn Goldman at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, sees an eroding relationship between federal science agencies and the scientific community and fears that eventually scientific professionals will no longer trust crucial information gleaned from government research. Unlike previous administrations, the Bush White House, Goldman believes, has a "to the victor goes the spoils" approach to scientific research. She adds that "what they don't understand is that everybody hasn't done it that way. Science isn't 'the spoils.' Science isn't something to be politicized based on who's elected."

But if there's one thing that's been obvious over the past three years of the Bush Administration, it's that nothing is out of bounds when Bush's electoral bases are involved. The federal government funds a quarter of the scientific research in this country. When a President starts appointing scientists as he does campaign staffers, we risk an era of Lysenkoism in America—when Soviet citizens were told (among other things) that acquired traits can be inherited. While Bush's supporters may giddily profit from such changes, it's the rest of us who lose out when science becomes another avenue for propaganda.

ERIC ALTERMAN AND MARK GREEN

Eric Alterman and Mark Green are the co-authors of The Book on Bush: How George W. (Mis)leads America, *just published by Viking-Penguin. Alterman,* The Nation*'s "Stop the Presses" columnist, and Green, president of the New Democracy Project, would like to thank Jenny Stepp for her research on this article.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Dick Cheney's old company, Halliburton, which is part of an industry that has contributed $58 million to Republicans since 2000. Halliburton is the leading practitioner of a process used in extracting oil and gas known as hydraulic fracturing, in which benzene is injected into underground formations. EPA scientists studying the process in 2002 found that it could contaminate ground-water supplies in excess of federal drinking water standards. A week after reporting their findings to Congressional staff members, however, they revised the data to indicate that benzene levels would not exceed government standards. In a letter to Representative Henry Waxman, EPA officials said the change was made based on "industry feedback."

As a favor to utility and coal industries, America's largest mercury dischargers, the EPA sat for nine months on a report exposing the catastrophic impact on children's health of mercury, finally releasing it in February 2003. Among the findings of the report: The bloodstream of one in twelve US women is saturated with enough mercury to cause neurological damage, permanent IQ loss and a grim inventory of other diseases in their unborn children.

The list goes on. In October 2001 Interior Secretary Gale Norton, responding to a Senate committee inquiry on the effects of oil drilling on caribou in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, falsely claimed that the caribou would not be affected, because they calve outside the area targeted for drilling. She later explained that she somehow substituted "outside" for "inside." She also substituted findings from a study financed by an oil company for some of the ones that the Fish and Wildlife Service had prepared for her. In another case, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Norton and White House political adviser Karl Rove pressed for changes that would allow diversion of substantial amounts of water from the Klamath River to benefit local supporters and agribusiness contributors. Some 34,000 endangered salmon were killed after National Marine Fisheries scientists altered their findings on the amount of water the salmon required. Environmentalists describe it as the largest fish kill in the history of the West. Mike Kelly, the fisheries biologist on the Klamath who drafted the biological opinion, told me that under the current plan coho salmon are probably headed for extinction. According to Kelly, "The morale is very low among scientists here. We are under pressure to get the right results. This Administration is putting the species at risk for political gain. And not just in the Klamath."

Roger Kennedy, former director of the National Park Service, told me that the alteration and deletion of scientific information is now standard procedure at Interior. "It's hard to decide what is more demoralizing about the Administration's politicization of the scientific process," he said, "its disdain for professional scientists working for our government or its willingness to deceive the American public."

Getting the Right Answer

But suppressing or altering science can be a tricky business; the Bush Administration has found it easier at times simply to arrange to get the results it wants. A case in point is the decision in July by the EPA's regional office overseeing the western Everglades to accept a study financed predominantly by developers, which concludes that wetlands discharge more pollutants than they absorb. There was no peer review or

The Nation Institute
Presents

TONI MORRISON

in conversation with

CORNEL WEST

Wednesday, March 24
7 PM
New York Society for Ethical Culture
2 West 64th Street, NYC

Tickets: $20 orchestra;
$10 mezzanine and balcony

For reservations, call
(866) 468-7619 or reserve online
at www.ticketweb.com

www.ticketweb.com
TICKETWEB
866.468.7619

Doors open at 6 PM
Please plan to arrive early

Seating cannot be
guaranteed after 6:45 PM

Co-sponsored by
the New York Society for Ethical Culture

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public comment. With its approval, the EPA is giving developers credit for improving water quality by replacing natural wetlands with golf courses and other developments.

The study was financed by the Water Enhancement and Restoration Committee, which was formed primarily by local developers and chaired by Rick Barber, the consultant for a golf course development for which the EPA had denied a permit because it would pollute surrounding waters and destroy wetlands. The study contradicts everything known about wetlands functioning, including a determination by more than twenty-five scientists and managers at the Tampa Bay Estuary Program that, on balance, wetlands do not generate nitrogen pollution. Bruce Boler, a biologist and water-quality specialist working for the EPA office, resigned in protest. Boler says the developers massaged the data to support their theory by evaluating samples collected near roads and bridges, where developments discharge pollutants. "It was like the politics trumped the science," he told us.

In a similar case, last November the EPA cut a private deal with a pesticide manufacturer to take over federal studies of a pesticide it manufactures. Atrazine is the most heavily utilized weedkiller in America. First approved in 1958, by the 1980s it had been identified as a potential carcinogen associated with high incidences of prostate cancer among workers at manufacturing facilities. Testing by the US Geological Survey regularly finds alarming concentrations of Atrazine in drinking water across the corn belt. Even worse, last year scientists at the University of California, Berkeley, found that Atrazine at one-thirtieth the government's "safe" 3 parts per billion level causes grotesque deformities in frogs, including multiple sets of organs. And this year epidemiologists from the University of Missouri found reproductive consequences in humans associated with Atrazine, including male semen counts in farm communities that are 50 percent below normal. Iowa scientists are finding similar results in a current study.

'It was like the politics trumped the science.' —Bruce Boler, a biologist who resigned after the EPA adopted a developer-financed study.

The Bush Administration reacted to the frightening findings not by banning this dangerous chemical, as the European Union has, but by taking the studies away from EPA scientists and, in an unprecedented move, giving the chemical's manufacturer, Switzerland-based Syngenta, control over federal research. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Sherry Ford, a spokesperson for Syngenta, praised without irony the advantages of having the company monitor its own product. "This is one way we can ensure it's not presenting any risk to the environment."

In a dramatic expansion of this disturbing strategy, the Bush Administration now plans to systematically turn government science over to private industry by contracting out thousands of science jobs to compliant consultants already in the habit of massaging data to support corporate profits. The National Park Service is preparing a first phase of contracting reviews, involving about 1,800 positions, including biologists, archeologists and environmental specialists. Later phases may entail replacement of 11,000 employees, more than two-thirds of the service's permanent work force.

At least federal employees enjoy civil service and whistleblower protection intended to allow them to operate professionally and independently. Private contractors don't enjoy the same level of protection. "You can shop for the right contractor to give you the kind of result you want," says Frank Buono, a retired Park Service veteran who now serves on the board of a nonprofit whistleblower protection organization.

As a Last Resort, Fire the Messenger

Most federal employees have gone along with the Bush Administration's wishes, but a few have tried to stand up for sound science. The results are predictable. When a team of government biologists indicated that the Army Corps of Engineers was violating the Endangered Species Act in managing the flow of the Missouri River, the group was quickly replaced by an industry-friendly panel. (In an unexpected—and fortunate—development, the new panel ultimately declined to adopt the White House's pro-barge-industry position and upheld the decision to manage the river to protect imperiled species.) Similarly, last April the EPA suddenly dismantled an advisory panel that had spent nearly twenty-one months developing rules for stringent regulation of industrial emissions of mercury [see Alterman and Green, page 14].

Or consider the case of Tony Oppegard and Jack Spadaro, members of a team of federal geodesic engineers selected to investigate the collapse of barriers that held back a coal slurry pond in Kentucky containing toxic wastes from mountaintop strip-mining. The 300-million-gallon spill was the largest in American history and, according to the EPA, the greatest environmental catastrophe in the history of the Eastern United States. Black lava-like toxic sludge containing sixty poisonous chemicals choked and sterilized up to 100 miles of rivers and creeks and poisoned the drinking water in seventeen communities. Unlike in other slurry disasters, no one died, but hundreds of residents were sickened by contact with contaminated water.

The investigation had broad implications for the viability of mountaintop mining, which involves literally lopping off mountaintops to get access to the underlying coal. It is a process beloved by coal barons because it practically dispenses with the need for human labor and thus increases industry profits. Spadaro, the nation's leading expert on slurry spills, recalls, "We were geotechnical engineers determined to find the truth. We simply wanted to get to the heart of the matter—find out what happened and why, and to prevent it from happening again. But all that was thwarted at the top of the agency by Bush appointees who obstructed professionals trying to do their jobs."

The Bush Administration appointees all had coal industry pedigrees. Labor Secretary Elaine Chao (the wife of Kentucky Senator Mitch McConnell, the Senate's biggest recipient of industry largesse) appointed Dave Lauriski, a former executive with Energy West Mining, as the new director of the Mine Safety and Health Administration, which oversaw the investigation. His deputy assistant secretary was John Caylor, an Anamax Mining alumnus. His other deputy assistant, John Cor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explore an age of majesty, mystery, and grandeur

with the 24 lectures of *The World of Byzantium*, a recorded course from The Teaching Company's history series

Try this thought experiment: Mentally chart the main phases of European history to 1500.

If you're like most of us, you probably hopscotched from classical Greece through Alexander the Great and Rome of the Caesars to the Renaissance, with a detour into the long post-Roman hiatus known as the Dark and Middle Ages.

But this storyline is woefully incomplete, even misleading. Why? Because it leaves out Byzantium.

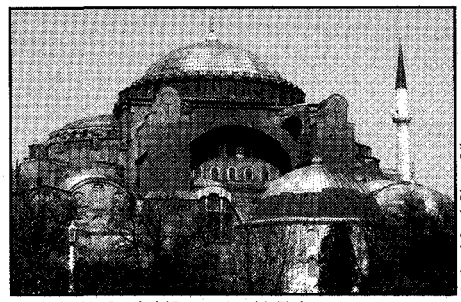
The 24 lectures of **The World of Byzantium** by distinguished historian Kenneth W. Harl are designed to fill that gap and give you a much wider and more accurate perspective on everything from the decline of imperial Rome to the rise of the Renaissance.

Let this gifted teacher and erudite scholar show you, in telling detail, how beginning with Constantine the Great and carrying on for more than a millennium, the Greek-speaking empire of Byzantium or East Rome occupied a literally *crucial* place in both time and space.

Glories of an Unsung Empire

Centered on its magnificent fortified capital at the lucrative crossroads of Europe and Asia, Byzantium was a crux of civilizations; a colossus that bestrode two continents; a crucible where peoples, cultures, and ideas met and melded to create a world at once eastern and western, Greek and Latin, classical and Christian. It was truly a fulcrum of world history.

Byzantium's spiritual grandeur and mystical vision of humanity, God, and the cosmos can still be glimpsed in the awesome, soaring dome of the Hagia Sophia—100 feet across and tall enough to hold a modern 17-story building—in the luminous mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, Italy, and in countless Orthodox churches on several continents.



© Corel Stock Photo Library.

Hagia Sophia, Istanbul (Constantinople), Turkey.

For century after century, the Byzantines kept alive Hellenic arts and letters and Roman legal-political achievements within the ambit of a grand Orthodox Christian state that vitally influenced not only Russia and southeastern Europe, but the Islamic world and the Italian Renaissance as well.

A Great Teacher

Kenneth W. Harl (Ph.D., Yale University) is Professor of History at Tulane University, where he has earned the annual Student Award for Excellence in Teaching no fewer than eight times. Baylor University named him the Fall 2001 winner of its nationwide Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teachers.

Enjoy the Best in Teaching

For more than a decade, The Teaching Company has been recording America's best college lecture professors. Our more than 150 Great Courses make it easy for you to gain access to a wealth of teaching talent unequalled on any single campus anywhere. And with our frequent sales and discounts, you can enjoy a lecture a day for as little as the price of a cup of coffee.

Lecture Titles

1. Imperial Crisis and Reform
2. Constantine
3. State and Society Under the Dominate
4. Imperial Rome and the Barbarians
5. The Rise of Christianity
6. Imperial Church and Christian Dogma
7. The Friends of God—Ascetics and Monks
8. The Fall of the Western Empire
9. The Age of Justinian
10. The Reconquest of the West
11. The Search for Religious Unity
12. The Birth of Christian Aesthetics and Letters
13. The Emperor Heraclius
14. The Christian Citadel
15. Life in the Byzantine Dark Age
16. The Iconoclastic Controversy
17. Recovery Under the Macedonian Emperors
18. Imperial Zenith—Basil II
19. Imperial Collapse
20. Alexius I and the First Crusade
21. Comnenian Emperors and Crusaders
22. Imperial Exile and Restoration
23. Byzantine Letters and Aesthetics
24. The Fall of Constantinople

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day
GREAT TEACHERS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.

SAVE UP TO $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL MARCH 21, 2004

About The Teaching Company:

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 1,800 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

To order, mail or fax coupon below. Or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 16061)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819 www.TEACH12.com/ntn

THE Great Courses™
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 16061

Please send me **The World of Byzantium**, which consists of 24 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (reg. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $54.95** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (reg. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (reg. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQs page at www.teach12.com for details.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

☐ **Charge my**

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover Novus ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: March 21, 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rell, had worked for both Amax and Peabody Coal.

Oppegard, the leader of the federal team, was fired on the day Bush was inaugurated in 2001. All eight members of the team except Spadaro signed off on a whitewashed investigation report. Spadaro, like the others, was harassed but flat-out refused to sign. In April of 2001 Spadaro resigned from the team and filed a complaint with the Inspector General of the Labor Department. Last June 4 he was placed on administrative leave—a prelude to getting fired.

Bush Administration officials accuse Spadaro of "abusing his authority" for allowing a handicapped instructor to have free room and board at a training academy he oversees, an arrangement approved by his superiors. An internal report vindicated Spadaro's criticisms of the investigation, but the Administration is still going after his job. "I've been regulating mining since 1966," Spadaro told me. "This is the most lawless administration I've encountered. They have no regard for protecting miners or the people in mining communities. They are without scruples."

Science, like theology, reveals transcendent truths about a changing world. At their best, scientists are moral individuals whose business is to seek the truth. Over the past two decades industry and conservative think tanks have invested millions of dollars to corrupt science. They distort the truth about tobacco, pesticides, ozone depletion, dioxin, acid rain and global warming. In their attempt to undermine the credible basis for public action (by positing that all opinions are politically driven and therefore any one is as true as any other), they also undermine belief in the integrity of the scientific process.

Now Congress and this White House have used federal power for the same purpose. Led by the President, the Republicans have gutted scientific research budgets and politicized science within the federal agencies. The very leaders who so often condemn the trend toward moral relativism are fostering and encouraging the trend toward scientific relativism. The very ideologues who derided Bill Clinton as a liar have now institutionalized dishonesty and made it the reigning culture of America's federal agencies.

The Bush Administration has so violated and corrupted the institutional culture of government agencies charged with scientific research that it could take a generation for them to recover their integrity even if Bush is defeated this fall. Says Princeton University scientist Michael Oppenheimer, "If you believe in a rational universe, in enlightenment, in knowledge and in a search for the truth, this White House is an absolute disaster." ■

WHILE THE WORLD LOOKS THE OTHER WAY, SEXUAL VIOLENCE SPREADS IN THE CONGO.

Silence=Rape

JAN GOODWIN

KAREN CALDICOTT

Last May, 6-year-old Shashir was playing outside her home near Goma, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), when armed militia appeared. The terrified child was carried kicking and screaming into the bush. There, she was pinned down and gang-raped. Sexually savaged and bleeding from multiple wounds, she lay there after the attack, how long no one knows, but she was close to starving when finally found. Her attackers, who'd disappeared back into the bush, wiped out her village as effectively as a biblical plague of locusts.

"This little girl couldn't walk, couldn't talk when she arrived here. Shashir had to be surgically repaired. I don't know if she can be mentally repaired," says Faida Veronique, a 47-year-old cook at Doctors on Call for Service (DOCS), a tented hospital in the eastern city of Goma, who took in the brutalized child.

"Why do they rape a child?" asks Marie-Madeleine Kisoni, a Congolese counselor who works with raped women and children. "We don't understand. There's a spirit of bestiality here now. I've seen 2- and 3-year-olds raped. The rebels want to kill us, but it's more painful to kill the spirit instead."

In the Congo today, age is clearly no protection from rape. A woman named Maria was 70 when the Interahamwe, the Hutu militia that led Rwanda's 1994 genocide and now number between 20,000 and 30,000 of the estimated 140,000 rebels in the DRC, came to her home. "They grabbed me, tied my legs apart like a goat before slaughter, and then raped me, one after the other," she told me. "Then they stuck sticks inside me until I fainted." During the attack Maria's entire family—five sons, three daughters and her husband—were murdered. "War came. I just saw smoke and fire. Then my life and my health were taken away," she says. The tiny septuagenarian with the sunken eyes was left with a massive fistula where her bladder was torn, causing permanent incontinence. She hid in the bush for three years out of fear that the rebels might return, and out of shame over her constantly soiled clothes. Yet Maria was one of the more fortunate ones. She'd finally made it to a hospital. Two months before we met, she had undergone reconstructive surgery. The outcome is uncertain, however, and she still requires a catheter.

Rape has become a defining characteristic of the five-year war in the DRC, says Anneke Van Woudenberg, the Congo specialist for Human Rights Watch. So, too, has mutilation of the victims. "Last year, I was stunned when a 30-year-old woman in North Kivu had her lips and ears cut off and eyes gouged out

Jan Goodwin, author of Price of Honor *(Plume), an analysis of how Islamic extremism is affecting the lives of Muslim women, frequently writes about war and human rights.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after she was raped, so she couldn't identify or testify against her attackers. Now, we are seeing more and more such cases," she says. As the rebels constantly seek new ways to terrorize, their barbarity becomes more frenzied.

I, too, was sickened by what I saw and heard. In three decades of covering war, I had never before come across the cases described to me by Congolese doctors, such as gang-rape victims having their labia pierced and then padlocked. "They usually die of massive infection," I was told.

Based on personal testimonies collected by Human Rights Watch, it is estimated that as many as 30 percent of rape victims are sexually tortured and mutilated during the assaults, usually with spears, machetes, sticks or gun barrels thrust into their vaginas. Increasingly, the trigger is being pulled. About 40 percent of rape victims, usually the younger ones, aged 8 to 19, are abducted and forced to become sex slaves. "The country is in an utter state of lawlessness; it's complete anarchy," says Woudenberg. "In this culture of impunity, people know they can get away with anything. Every armed group is equally culpable."

In the Congo, rape is a cheaper weapon of war than bullets. Experts estimate that some 60 percent of all combatants in the DRC are infected with HIV/AIDS. As women rarely have access to expensive antiretroviral drugs, sexual assaults all too often become automatic death sentences. Médecins Sans Frontières operates five health clinics offering antiretrovirals in the conflict zone of northeastern DRC, but many women don't know about the drugs and cannot travel safely to the centers. Moreover, according to Helen O'Neill, a nurse who set up MSF's sexual-violence treatment program, such drugs must be taken within forty-eight to seventy-two hours of the rape to prevent infection. If a woman has been exposed to the virus, the treatment is 80 percent effective. But in the Congo, rape victims who are not captive sex slaves must walk for days or weeks, often with massive injuries, and risk new capture by roving rebel bands, before reaching assistance.

"So far, 30 percent of rape victims being treated at our hospital are infected with HIV/AIDS," says Dr. Denis Mukwege, the French-trained medical director of the Panzi Hospital in Bukavu. "And nearly 50 percent are infected with venereal diseases like syphilis that greatly increase their chances of contracting HIV."

Rape as a weapon of war is as old as war itself. What has changed recently is that sexual violence is no longer considered just a byproduct of conflict but is being viewed as a war crime, says Jessica Neuwirth, president of Equality Now, a New York–based international women's human rights organization. "Rape as a violation of war was codified in the Geneva Convention, but only now is it being taken seriously. But it is still not effectively prosecuted, not proportional to the extent that sexual violence takes place," she says. Armed forces now have a legal obligation to stop rape and hold the offenders accountable. "This is a major shift in consciousness. But it needs to be followed by a major shift in conduct," says Neuwirth.

In the DRC, rape is used to terrorize, humiliate and punish the enemy. Frequently husbands, fathers and children are forced to watch and even participate. Women sexually assaulted by members of one rebel organization are accused of being the wives of that group and raped again as punishment when a new militia

When *The Nation* is available in high school libraries, reports a survey conducted by School Library Media Quarterly, it is one of the top dozen magazines actually used by students. Unfortunately, in more than three libraries out of four—both public and high school libraries—*The Nation* is not available. The reasons? Everything from budget cuts to the "discretion" of the school board or librarian. The remedy? *The Nation*'s **ADOPT-A-LIBRARY** program. For just $29.97 (42% off our regular subscription rate) you can put a full year's issues of *The Nation* into an institution on our own "high priority" list—libraries where we feel *The Nation's* presence could make the most profound difference—ranging from inner-city high schools to one of the three libraries in Crawford, Texas, home to George W. Bush's rustic ranch.

JOIN *THE NATION*'S
ADOPT-A-LIBRARY PROGRAM.

YES! I'd like to adopt _____ libraries on your "high priority" list of *Nation*-less libraries.

❑ My check for $____($29.97 for each 1-year, 47-issue subscription) is enclosed.

❑ Please bill me later.

My Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

❑ I prefer to make a gift of *The Nation* to the specific library whose name and address are listed on a separate page.

Unless you specify otherwise, a card will be sent to each of your chosen libraries to announce these generous gifts in your name.

Mail to: *The Nation*, Adopt-A-Library Program, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

2GEH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

takes over the area. "It's happened repeatedly to the women of Shabunda in the far east of the Congo, every time the region has changed hands," says Woudenberg.

Even the camps for internally displaced people are not safe. The barbed-wire encampment in Bunia is home to more than 14,000 people, but enemy militia infiltrate at night. Shortly before I arrived, an 11-year-old girl was dragged off and gang-raped, a not uncommon occurrence. There are more than 3 million internally displaced people made homeless by the war, many of whom have been forced to flee over and over again. UN officers admit they have nowhere near the numbers they need to be effective, or even to stay safe themselves.

"The rebels are all around us here. We don't feel secure and we've seen what these guys do to people, especially to women and girls. Our own people have been killed, after they were horribly tortured," a European UN major told me. "The DRC is the size of Western Europe. We're supposed to have 8,500 troops here, but we've only got 5,000! I was in Bosnia, which is a fraction of the size of the Congo, and we had 68,000 NATO troops, and even that wasn't enough." Patrols of MONUC, the UN's peacekeeping force in the DRC, have refused to pick up wounded rape victims and escort them to medical care when they were afraid they would be outnumbered by nearby rebels.

'Babies, children, women—nobody is being spared. For every woman speaking out, there are hundreds who've not yet emerged from the hell.'

"People denounce the rapes but do nothing to bring the rebels to justice," says Woudenberg. "There isn't the political will, domestically or internationally, to make it happen. I've never seen anything like this, when war has become this horrible, and human life so undervalued."

Trevor Lowe, spokesperson for the UN World Food Program, echoes this view. "The nature of sexual violence in the DRC conflict is grotesque, completely abnormal," he says. "Babies, children, women—nobody is being spared. For every woman speaking out, there are hundreds who've not yet emerged from the hell. Rape is so stigmatized in the DRC, and people are afraid of reprisals from rebels. It's a complete and utter breakdown of norms. Like Rwanda, only worse." Adds his colleague Christiane Berthiaume, "Never before have we found as many victims of rape in conflict situations as we are discovering in the DRC."

Yet where is the international media coverage? The outrage? The demand for justice?

During the Rwanda genocide, rape as a war crime received extensive international media coverage. Despite initial reports of 250,000 women being sexually assaulted (a third more than there were Tutsi women living in the country at the time), evidence later suggested the total number was closer to one-fifth of that.

In Bosnia, where the European Community Investigative Mission concluded there were some 20,000 victims, reports of systematic rape by the Serbs first made international headlines one year into the war, and remained a major news focus for the remaining three years of the conflict. It was only after the Bosnia war, at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague in 1997, that rape was first prosecuted as a crime against humanity. A year later, at the Rwanda tribunal, rape was found to be a form of genocide.

Everyone I spoke with in the DRC and in the international UN, NGO and human rights community said they believe the incidence of rape there greatly exceeds that in both Bosnia and Rwanda, although it will be years before precise figures are available. The systematic nature of the assaults has been amply documented by the UN, humanitarian agencies and human rights organizations. Yet for the most part the media look the other way. As one editor of a national newspaper told me, "It's just another horror in the horror that is Africa." One has to ask, Does this kind of cynicism merely reflect public opinion or help create it?

Says Lowe, "Look at the square footage of Bosnia, a country that is dwarfed by the Congo, and look at the enormous number of reporters who covered Bosnia compared to the DRC. Clearly, Africa doesn't get the same coverage as Europe. The reasons are racial, geopolitical interests, ease of access, etc. The DRC conflict is an extremely dangerous one, which is one reason the press is not there. Selling Africa, and being part of an agency that does it all the time, is difficult. Africa is clearly not a place where the major powers have a lot of interest. The Congo is not on the geopolitical map. And the major-league press follows that geopolitical map." There is also media faddishness, what Lowe refers to as the CNN factor. "If CNN shows up, then other reporters become interested," he says.

Another factor is the complexity of the Congo conflict. In Rwanda, the media were able to present the issues as clear-cut, with the good guys and the bad clearly defined. "People consider the Congo conflict confusing; they label it tribal or ethnic, which is totally wrong," says Woudenberg. "The war in the DRC has been an international war, involving a number of different countries."

Conduct a straw poll among Americans who are usually well informed and few know of the vicious campaign of sexual violence against women in the DRC. Many are even unaware that the country is six years into a brutal conflict, in which up to 4.7 million people have died—the highest number of fatalities in any conflict since World War II. Or that six countries—Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia—have been fighting proxy wars in the DRC, and helping to plunder the country's tremendous mineral wealth to fill their coffers.

The indifference, according to Woudenberg, extends to the arms of government that should be most deeply concerned with the DRC's crisis. "In November I tried to raise the issue with the US Mission to the UN in New York, and they told me fairly point-blank that they were aware rape was going on in the Congo, and it was just not high on their priorities," she says. "I had a similar response from the US State Department."

Meanwhile, a UN Security Council panel has cited eighty-five multinational corporations, including some of the largest US companies in their fields, for their involvement in the illegal exploitation of natural resources from the DRC. The commerce in these "blood" minerals, such as coltan, used in cell phones and laptops, cobalt, copper, gold, diamonds and uranium (Congolese uranium was used in the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki), drives the conflict. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Put your actions behind your convictions!

End the Occupation of the West Bank & Gaza

Remove the Wall Being Constructed in the Middle of the West Bank

Bring the Settlers Home-back to the pre-67 borders of Israel

End the violence on both sides

(both the acts of terror against Israeli civilians and the daily violence of the Occupation)

Demand that candidates for president and congress seeking your support take a public stand in favor of the Geneva Accord, the Nusseibeh-Ayalon principles, the Tikkun Resolution on Middle East Peace or some other specific plan that ends the Occupation! Bring these issues into public debate now!

Insist on a Progressive Middle Path that recognizes that the only way to be pro-Israel is to also be pro-Palestine. Reject the blame game that tries to depict one side as "all bad" and the other as "righteous victims." Insist on a new discourse of compassion, generosity, open-heartedness, and atonement-replace your anger at the Occupation with a strategy that could actually work to end it.

Not just a Jewish or Muslim issue-everyone should be involved. It's not anti-Semitic (and you're not a self-hating Jew) to critique the current policies of the Israeli government and the blank check it gets from the U.S. government.

National Student Conference for Middle East Peace

Brown University, Providence Rhode Island, March 5-7

(Students and faculty at the undergraduate, graduate, professional school should attend, but even high school students are invited)

Speakers include:

Cornel West • **Medea Benjamin** • **Rabbi Michael Lerner** • **Daniel Matt** • **Colman Barks**

Princeton U. | Global Exchange | Author, Healing Israel/Palestine | Editor, The Zohar | The Essential Rumi

One focus will be to build a nationwide Tikkun Campus Network to bring the "Progressive Middle Path" to campuses where students often find themselves pulled between pro-Sharon forces on the one side, and on the other those whose justified anger at the Occupation pushes them into an anti-Israel rhetoric that is so extreme that it is counter-productive. Our Progressive Middle Path will appeal to many students who can recognize that both sides have a legitimate set of claims and both sides have been deeply screwed up, cruel and violent in the way they've dealt with each other. If you can't come to the conference, help us build the Tikkun Campus Network on your campus.

Registration: $40. Campus@tikkun.org or 510-644-1200

And/or please attend

The National Teach-In to Congress for Middle East Peace Washington, D.C. April 25-27

Come for the March for Women's Lives, stay for the Tikkun Teach-in for Middle East Peace. In May, the pro-Sharon forces will bring thousands of people to D.C. to support the Occupation. We need to bring people from every U.S. Congressional district to let congress and the media hear the voices of those who wish to end the Occupation. We will present the Geneva Accord and other peace initiatives, demand an end to the construction of the Wall, and insist that the U.S. use its power to end the Occupation and provide the real security for Israel and for Palestine that can only be achieved through peace and reconciliation. Please come and convince your friends from around the U.S. to meet you there.

the TIKKUN COMMUNITY

Info: Members@tikkun.org
www.tikkun.org or 510-644-1200

תיקון

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brutality of the militias—the sexual slavery, transmission of HIV/AIDS through rape, cannibalism, slaughter and starvation, forced recruitment of child soldiers—has routinely been employed to secure access to mining sites or insure a supply of captive labor.

If that isn't enough to awaken the international community's interest, one would think it would be of concern that "blood" business practices also fund terrorism. Lebanese diamond traders benefiting from illegal concessions in the Congo have been tied to the Islamic extremist groups Amal and Hezbollah. According to a UN report, the Lebanese traders, who operate licensed diamond businesses in Antwerp, purchased diamonds from the DRC worth $150 million in 2001 alone. Such linkage between African rebel groups and global terrorist movements is not new. Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front reportedly sold diamonds to Al Qaeda, thus helping to finance both organizations.

The lobbies of the two luxury hotels in Kinshasa, the DRC's capital, are full of elegant, $5,000-a-day corporate lawyers from New York, London and Geneva, and scruffier diamond dealers from Tel Aviv and Antwerp, as they while away the hours waiting for government ministers and senior representatives of armed groups to smooth their way. These institutional fortune-makers are 1,800 miles away from the nightmares of northeastern Congo. Yet they are not so far removed from the atrocities perpetrated there. Rape is a crime of the war they are fueling with their greed.

Today's conflict profiteers are not the first to sponsor a campaign to ransack, rape, pillage and plunder in the Congo. A century ago, Belgium's King Leopold II amassed a fabulous fortune this way. During the monarch's genocidal reign of terror, when villagers couldn't meet his impossibly high quotas harvesting rubber or mining ore, their hands were amputated and women were taken as slaves. By the time he was finished, an estimated 10 million Congolese, half the population, were dead.

Kinshasa's policy-makers, who serve in a government with four vice presidents in a misguided attempt to appease various factions, now claim a new political beginning after the so-called peace accord last year. But there is a "huge and dangerous gap" between what is happening in Kinshasa and what is going on in the northeast, says Irene Khan, Amnesty International's secretary general. "In Kinshasa there is talk of peace and political progress, of regional harmony and democratic elections. But while the newly appointed members of government are wrangling for power and privilege in Kinshasa, in the Kivus and Ituri people are confronted daily with death, plunder and carnage. Mutilations and massacres continue. Rape of women and girls has become a standard tactic of warfare. It is absolutely outrageous that many of the senior members of the government and the political parties they represent are closely linked to the armed groups who are committing these abuses."

At the time of King Leopold's predatory rule, an international Congo reform movement was formed with the support of Mark Twain, Arthur Conan Doyle and Joseph Conrad. It was Conrad who described what was being done as "the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience." He would recognize what is happening now.

For the sake of 6-year-old Shashir and tens of thousands of girls and women who have been infected with HIV/AIDS, forcibly impregnated or so badly damaged internally they will never be able to have children, and who are so psychologically traumatized they may never recover, we can only hope that a similarly prominent group of today's social commentators will find its conscience and its voice soon. ■

Go to www.thenation.com for more information.

In Fact . . .

DEPRESSING ANTIDEPRESSANT NEWS

■ On February 2 the FDA heard testimony on whether the Prozac class of antidepressants known as SSRIs put under-18s at risk for suicide. As reported here by Richard DeGrandpre ("Trouble in Prozac Nation," January 5), British regulators have all but banned the pediatric use of these drugs. After our editorial went to press, Britain took a step in the direction advocated by DeGrandpre, beginning a study on whether the same effects occur in adults. The February hearing moves the FDA in the same direction, but not terribly far. The agency has conceded that studies submitted by SSRI-makers do show a risk for suicide in under-18s and admitted that these studies show they do not work. The FDA has, however, put off any further action until a study is completed this summer. Meanwhile, it continues to reject the claim that the same charge of violence applies to adult use—despite a decade of testimony in medical journals and evidence that led at least two courts to accept evidence that SSRI use explains incidents of suicide and murder.

MISLEADING ADVERTISING

■ Much as we deplore censorship of advocacy ads on TV, CBS's decision to take off the air a supposedly informational TV spot sponsored by the Department of Health and Human Services promoting the new Medicare prescription-drug benefit is laced with ironies. Executive vice president Martin Franks said CBS had "concerns" that the ad "violated our advocacy policy" and "standards…about accuracy." Adding to the "concerns" is the fact that the General Accounting Office is investigating the $9.5 million HHS pro–drug law spots at the behest of Democratic lawmakers, who complain they constitute Bush campaign propaganda. And recall CBS's pulling of a MoveOn.org ad during the Super Bowl because of that "advocacy policy." MoveOn argued that past government antidrug ads during the game also pushed a political line. Now under FCC fire for the Janet Jackson show, CBS, the network that bumped to its cable channel the Ronald Reagan docudrama, is defying angry GOP leaders in Congress. P.S. In our view, the Medicare drug law is *in itself* pure campaign propaganda.

NEW YORK BECOMES A FREE CITY

■ Last year we reported that the New York City Council postponed voting on a resolution denouncing the USA Patriot Act. But in February the council finally passed the resolution, which makes New York City the 256th "civil liberties safe zone." The zone now boasts a population of 43.5 million nationwide, the Bill of Rights Defense Committee has calculated, and includes four of the country's five most populous cities—New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as the states of Alaska, Hawaii and Vermont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Brown Like Me?

ED MORALES

THE PRESUMED ALLIANCE: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America. By Nicolás C. Vaca. HarperCollins. 238 pp. $24.95.

The Iowa Brown and Black Forum. There it was, superimposed on the bottom corner of the screen going to commercial break just after Al Sharpton tore into Howard Dean's affirmative-action hiring record. Hosted by MSNBC's Lester Holt, an African-American, and Maria Celeste Arrarás, a Puerto Rican–born anchor for Telemundo, this last debate before the Iowa caucuses helped introduce a new phrase into the American political lexicon. Black and brown. "Do you have a senior member of your cabinet that was black or brown?" Sharpton prodded, and Dean turned red (again).

Although Sharpton and the Iowa group use this phrase to promote black-Latino unity, the first time I remember hearing it was when, on the occasion of the quincentennial of Columbus's journey to the Americas (and the aftermath of the Rodney King riots), *The Atlantic Monthly* published "Blacks vs. Browns," by *LA Times* reporter Jack Miles. In a significant challenge to the binary view of American racial politics, Miles uncovered the hidden truth about the riots, that there was substantial Latino involvement in what was widely portrayed as a black-and-white confrontation. Yet he did not regard this as evidence of an alignment of black and Latino interests. On the contrary, he predicted that "America's older black poor and newer brown poor are on a collision course."

According to Miles, the civil rights era coalition between blacks and Latinos was threatened by an emerging class conflict. Fearful of the "nihilistic" tendencies in black urban culture, he claimed, white and Asian employers were increasingly passing over poor blacks in favor of Latino immigrants, who were willing to work for lower wages. "Blacks are the most oppressed minority, but it matters enormously that whites are no longer a majority," wrote Miles. "And within the urban geography of Los Angeles, African-Americans seem to me to be competing more directly with Latin Americans than with any other group."

A year earlier, Charles Kamasaki and Raul Yzaguirre of the National Council of La Raza had published a groundbreaking paper that corroborated Miles's argument. Yzaguirre and Kamasaki recounted several instances when African-American leaders had failed to support Latino causes. The NAACP opposed an extension of the Voting Rights Act that benefited Latinos in 1975, while the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights opposed a similar extension of the act in 1982. The NAACP declined to oppose employer sanctions under the Immigration Reform and Control Act; throughout the 1980s the LCCR was indifferent to increasing protection for Latinos against employment discrimination, while only nominally opposing the English-only movement. The paper concluded that "growing tension between the two communities...threatens the ability of blacks and Hispanics to develop strong, sustainable coalitions."

According to Nicolás Vaca, Latinos need to bid farewell to the 'illusion of unbroken unity' with blacks and pursue their own interests.

These ominous predictions are echoed in Nicolás C. Vaca's new book, *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America*. But unlike Miles and Kamasaki and Yzaguirre, whose argu-

Ed Morales, a Latin music columnist for Newsday, *is the author of* Living in Spanglish *(St. Martin's) and* The Latin Beat *(Da Capo).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments he cites, Vaca, a lawyer and scholar based in the Bay Area, wants to posit the adversarial aspects of the relationship between blacks and Latinos as a fact of life. In making this argument, Vaca, who fancies himself a maverick, claims he is simply facing up to realities that Latino intellectuals and activists have sidestepped because of "knee-jerk," "politically correct" assumptions about black-Latino solidarity. He is so convinced of this that he lost an old Latino friend in a public argument over whether to write this book. "Why dig up dirt," writes Vaca, "ruffle feathers, destroy the illusion of unbroken unity between Blacks and Latinos, bleeding the colors of the Rainbow Coalition by giving the dreaded *gringo* the ammunition my former friend told me I was providing? The simple answer is that the ethnic landscape has changed."

Vaca's argument hinges on demographics, laid out in the opening chapter, "The Latino Tsunami: The Browning of America." He cites statistics that forecast exponential population growth, which will cast California and the Southwest in an increasingly "brown" hue by mid-century, and the related "hypergrowth" of Latino communities in areas like Atlanta and Raleigh, Greensboro and Charlotte, North Carolina, with the influx of new, mostly Mexican, immigrants. This demographic transformation will inexorably generate increasing conflict as Latinos—who have long been underrepresented in political office, in part because immigrants can't vote, and who have long felt their concerns are not taken seriously—seek representation equal to their numbers. In cities like Los Angeles, where African-Americans wield a measure of political power, blacks are increasingly digging in to resist a numerically superior brown rival.

In Chapter 3, "Who's the Leader of the Civil Rights Band?" Vaca analyzes the landmark case *Mendez v. Westminster*, which challenged the existence of separate schools for Mexican-Americans and "helped lay the groundwork for the ruling in Brown vs. Board of Education eight years later." By establishing a Latino claim to a history of oppression by white America, Vaca is also trying to establish that African-Americans were not the only pioneers of civil rights struggle, and that Latinos deserve a share of the movement's benefits. Unfortunately, he uses these arguments to blame another victim: The villains invariably turn out to be African-Americans, who are threatened by demographic changes and shut Latinos out of political office, while refusing to acknowledge that anyone's suffering could ever be as great as theirs. In the chapter "Somewhere Over the Rainbow Coalition," Vaca curiously draws from the Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton classic *Black Power* to argue that "feel-good statements" and an idealistic "squinty-eyed view" held by out-of-touch activists "does not square with what has happened in the real world." By invoking Carmichael and Hamilton's observation that different groups in a coalition will tend to act in their own interest, he is merely invoking a tautology that could be made about almost any political coalition. Vaca goes on to cite several studies showing that in Los Angeles, blacks often block Latinos from obtaining municipal employment. This competition is "one of many examples of how zero-sum conflict trumps any idealized notion of Latino-Black cooperation." But there is no discussion in this chapter of the private sector, either with respect to the hiring practices of small businesses or with respect to falling wages, which Latino immigrants are more likely to accept than African-Americans.

Vaca's argument doesn't speak to the millions of Latinos who are black, or to those who identify strongly with African culture.

All of which is not to say that Vaca is entirely wrong. Although he doesn't take into account that Mexican-American citizens are also displaced in the job market by immigrants (including fellow Latinos), and that some established Mexican-Americans do not favor pro-immigration legislation, this conflict scenario accurately represents the Latino experience in the South and Southwest. Los Angeles has seen black-Latino political conflict (and cooperation) since the early days of the civil rights movement. Although the city's eighteenth-century founders were multiracial Mexicans of indigenous, African, Chinese and Spanish blood, LA has not elected a Latino mayor in more than a century, and blacks and Latinos have often voted for different candidates. The 1965 Watts riots, a predominantly African-American uprising, focused attention on the plight of black Angelenos but not on the barrios, while the black-Jewish liberal coalition that swept Tom Bradley into power further isolated Mexican-Americans from political power. An even greater rift developed when janitorial jobs, once the preserve of African-American union members, were turned over to nonunionized Mexican immigrants by unionbusting janitorial firms. Despite Antonio Villaraigosa's strong candidacy in the 2001 mayoral race, he was not able to draw enough black votes from James Hahn, a white liberal whose father was a favorite of African-Americans.

Vaca shows that the conflict between blacks and Latinos in California is historically rooted in a dynamic that is particular to that part of the country. After it was absorbed by the United States following the Mexican-American War, the Southwest's primary racial divide was between Anglos and Latinos (and to a lesser extent East Asians), with African-Americans coming into the mix later on, beginning in the 1930s. In Vaca's account of phenomena like segregated Mexican-American-only schools and the lynching of Mexican-Americans, African-Americans are portrayed as latecomers to the West's zero-sum battle for resources. That is to say, despite African-Americans' claim to primary "minority" status, "black suffering does not necessarily trump Latino suffering."

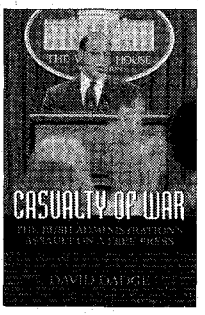
Vaca's argument is true as far as it goes—which isn't far at all. As he points out, Mexican-Americans make up about 60 percent of the total Latino population in the United States, and their experience in Los Angeles (particularly in the neighborhood of Compton) has been marked, at times, by tensions with African-Americans. But the question of black-brown relations is national in scope, and Vaca's analysis reflects a distinctly West Coast and ultimately parochial perspective. Chapters on black-Latino political strife in Los Angeles and Houston focus almost entirely on the Mexican-American version of Latino interests. In an attempt to counterbalance this, Vaca offers an analysis of black-Latino relations in Miami (a reverse-case scenario, where the white Cuban-American elite has historically refused to share public-sector power with African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans) and, in the book's least coherent chapter, of the 2001 mayoral race in Puerto Rican–dominated New York. Miami is clearly an aberrant case, because that city's Latino immigration was dominated by lighter-skinned members of Cuba's upper and middle classes fleeing Castro's revolution, and New York's complex ethnic politics, in which Latinos and blacks have entered into various coalitions with each other and with whites, is apparently beyond Vaca's expertise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

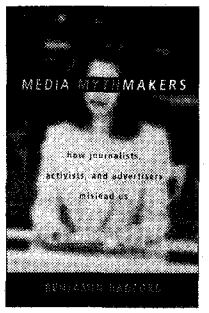
Although he rarely uses the word "brown" to describe Latinos, Vaca's assertion of a sharp separation between black and Latino is consistent with the "brown perspective" associated with a group of influential West Coast Latino writers. While it can serve as a useful color-coded signifier for being Latino, "brown" obscures the fact that Latinos come in the full spectrum of racial hues, very much including black. West Coast Brownologists like the essayist Richard Rodriguez and the *LA Times* commentator and New America Foundation fellow Gregory Rodriguez consistently categorize Latinos as distinctly separate from African-Americans, a third, *mestizo*, wheel in the American race dialogue. Although the Rodriguezes (no relation) are more diplomatic than Vaca in declaring that historic Latino suffering could never approach black suffering, the most important subtext in both writers' output is their effort to erect explicit barriers between blacks and Latinos.

Richard Rodriguez's concept of brown is, to be sure, semantically playful, invoking UPS's current ad campaign and sodomy in describing this "undermining brown motif, this erotic tunnel." Brown can be read here as the messy multiethnic muddle America is seemingly becoming through rising rates of Latino intermarriage, a utopian space from which, as the Mexican writer José Vasconcelos once suggested in his work *La Raza Cósmica*, humanity could launch its next great leap. In his recent book of essays, *Brown*, Rodriguez describes how growing up as an "honorary white" allowed him to escape linkages with the black culture of suffering. When a black professor at a public forum uses the phrase "blacks-and-Latinos" as a "synonym for the disadvantaged in America," Rodriguez recoils in discomfort. His most fervent desire for the African-Americans he has so much compassion for is "white freedom. The same as I wanted for myself." By this he means freedom from "culture" or "race," a desire expressed in various ways by ideologues like Ward Connerly and writers like Shelby Steele.

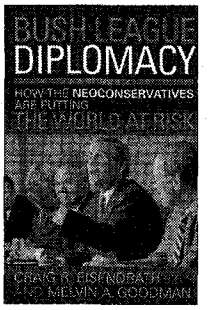
In his June 22, 2003, editorial in the *LA Times* Gregory Rodriguez went to great lengths to give African-Americans their due as the undisputed kings of suffering. "Even as Latinos exert growing influence on American politics and culture, blacks will continue to have a more powerful claim on America's moral imagination," he wrote. "Their history of slavery and segregation ensures that African-Americans will not be displaced in their role as the preeminent



CASUALTY OF WAR
The Bush Administration's Assault on a Free Press
David Dadge
350 pp
ISBN 1-59102-147-2 • HC $26
"... firm but not shrill, accusatory but not hysterical ... a cogent, compelling argument that a free flow of information may itself be a partial antidote to terrorism ... example after example of how the Bush administration has constricted the information flow at home and overlooked serious abuses abroad ... a forceful, timely defense of freedom of information laws...." —***American Journalism Review***

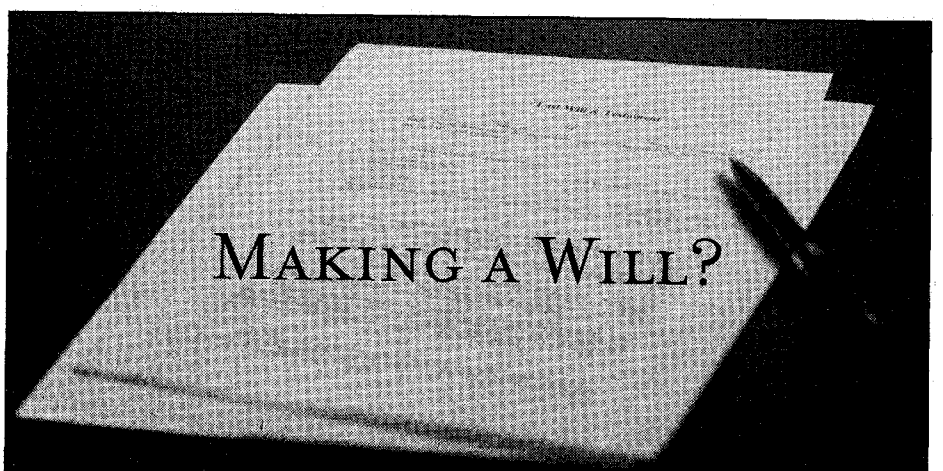


MEDIA MYTHMAKERS
How Journalists, Activists, and Advertisers Mislead Us
Benjamin Radford
324 pp (Illustrations)
ISBN 1-59102-072-7 • HC $25
"Benjamin Radford trains his experienced skeptical eye on fear-mongering journalists and activists. The result is a fascinating book that leaves no modern American myth unchallenged."
—Barry Glassner, author of *The Culture of Fear*
"... offers hundreds of examples of deceptive practices in journalism, advertising, political activism, public relations, and charity appeals."—***The Futurist***



BUSH LEAGUE DIPLOMACY
How the Neoconservatives Are Putting the World at Risk
Craig R. Eisendrath and Melvin A. Goodman
250 pp
ISBN 1-59102-176-6 • HC $26
In this comprehensive critique of the Bush administration's handling of international relations, two experienced foreign policy analysts demonstrate the folly and the dangers of abandoning diplomacy and relying on military force as the chief means of conducting U.S. foreign policy.

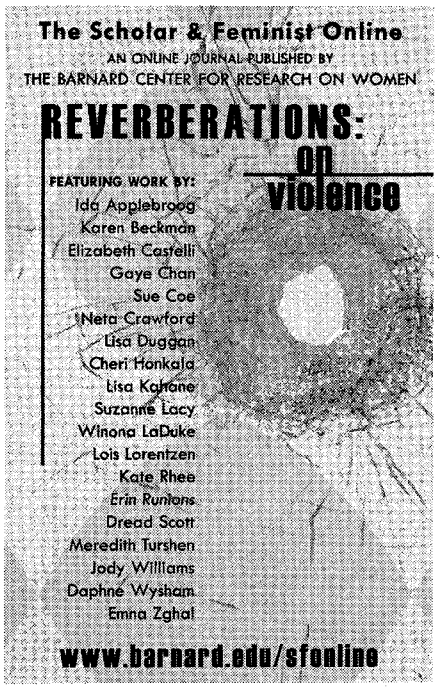
Prometheus Books
Call toll free (800) 421-0351 • marketing@prometheusbooks.com



It's important for you. And important for us that you consider making *The Nation* part of your legacy. By making a provision for *The Nation* now, you help ensure that both the principles we stand for, and the forum in which we fight for them, will be around for generations to come. Your legacy can take the form of a will, a trust, or various other means. It can go to *The Nation* or to *The Nation Institute*, a tax exempt charitable organization. And of course it can be – and will be appreciated – in whatever amount you can make it, large or small. It's spelled out in what we call our Legacy Group brochure. If you're at an estate-planning point in your life, or feel you'd like to know more about your options in general, call us for a copy.

THE NATION LEGACY GROUP (212) 209-5428
The Nation. 33 IRVING PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10003-2332
Call today to receive our new Memorial and Honorary gift package.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
PO Box 55149
Boulder, CO 80322-5149

Please allow 4–6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address above, or call:

1 (800) 333-8536

Monday to Friday
8:00 AM to 9:00 PM MST

Saturday & Sunday
8:00 AM to 4:30 PM MST

'other' in U.S. society." But apparently this moral authority is directly proportional to the ability to inspire the kind of fear Jack Miles's *Atlantic Monthly* article evoked. "Latino immigrants generally do not instill the same fear among whites that blacks can. The social distance between brown and white has never been as great as that between black and white."

Well, that may be true, but what if you were one of the millions of Latinos who are not brown but actually black (a genetic condition given only passing reference by Brownologists), or even stranger, strongly identify with African culture regardless of skin tone? One doesn't have to look too far in US Latino letters to find representatives of this point of view. Witness Lisa Sánchez-González's fascinating meditation, in *Boricua Literature*, in which she contrasts William Carlos Williams and Arturo Schomburg (both of Puerto Rican heritage) and the roles they played defining how Latinos have manifested themselves not just as brown but as "white" and "black" in America. Hip-hop, the most dynamic and commercially successful musical form in the world today, emerged as a joint creative effort between blacks and Latinos, as both Juan Flores's *From Bomba to Hip-hop* and Raquel Rivera's *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone* have recently demonstrated. These texts are not merely evidence of "identification" with African-Americans but a reflection of a shared, lived experience engendered by the proximity of black and Latino neighborhoods in Northeastern cities and the Caribbean islands, as well as an acknowledgment of shared African genetic heritage. *Pace* Vaca, this shared history, though no guarantee of black-Latino solidarity, can translate into a set of overlapping political interests.

Call these writers the leading edge of the East Coast–based Caribbean alternative to the brown perspective on black-Latino relations, if you are daring enough or have the energy to accept even more categories in the increasingly complicated debate over race in America. One might argue that these works are merely part of a "Puerto Rican exception," to borrow a phrase from the neoconservative Linda Chavez, who used it to describe intractable Puerto Rican poverty in her notorious 1992 treatise *Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation*. But although Puerto Ricans make up less than 10 percent of US Latinos (roughly 17 percent if you count island Puerto Ricans, all US citizens), and other Latin American countries with Afro-Caribbean affinities (including the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Colombia and Cuba) only add another 5–7 percent, this perspective has always been crucial when examining the relations between blacks and Latinos in the United States. And the Puerto Rican experience formed a pattern that Dominicans are following, despite the fact that they entered this country as immigrants. One of the major projects recently proposed by the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone is the creation of an Afro-Dominican cultural center in Washington Heights.

Vaca's take on New York's sometimes troubled black-Latino political coalitions in the chapter "The Big *Manzana*" starkly reveals the limitations of West Coast Brownology. Vaca concludes that mayoral candidate Freddy Ferrer foolishly believed in the potential of a black-Latino coalition (which had elected David Dinkins in 1989), only to be betrayed by Al Sharpton, who withheld his support until the last minute, denying Ferrer his best chance. What Vaca fails to understand is that Ferrer had a history of shying away from African-American issues, and in part for this reason was never wholeheartedly embraced by the Puerto Rican community, a significant portion of which is black. Vaca recounts that Ferrer was strongly in the running until (a) the 9/11 terror attacks, which occurred the day of the scheduled Democratic primary, drove the city into the arms of minority-unfriendly Rudolph Giuliani; and (b) stepped-up mailings of a *New York Post* cartoon depicting Ferrer as a Sharpton puppet ruined him with white voters. While Vaca wrongly argues that Sharpton's refusal to help out a Latino is evidence that Ferrer was sabotaged by black self-interest (Sharpton initially demanded Ferrer's support for a slate of black candidates in exchange for his endorsement), the implication is that Ferrer's mistake was his attempt to appeal to black voters. Freddy violated the Brownologists' rule of keeping your distance.

Vaca's underlying project, it seems, is to free Latinos from any guilt they might feel about pursuing their own interests. Latinos, he argues in his conclusion, are not responsible for the plight of African-Americans. And, he adds, because Latinos are not responsible, they come to the table with a clear conscience. Latinos come from "another land, living a life apart from the black-and-white vision of the world described by Black literature." As Vaca points out, the Latin American idea of race was always more supple and nuanced than that of the United States. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Latin America, large communities of escaped and freed slaves were able to flourish, and with the abolition of slavery, Jim Crow laws were never adopted. While there is a grain of truth to the idea that Latin America's openness to racial mixing contrasts with the notorious "one-drop" rule in the United States, that doesn't mean its conscience is clear. Latin America was a major player in the slave trade, has a long legacy of antiblack attitudes, and Latinos often bring those attitudes with them when they come north. Slur words like *mayate* that refer to people of African descent and qualifiers like *pelo malo* (bad hair) did not originate in the United States. In fact, Afro-Latinos are beginning to organize in countries like Brazil, Colombia and Honduras to address government policies of benign neglect. Representatives Charles Rangel and John Conyers, with the support of both the Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, are pushing for an "Afro-Latino Resolution" asserting that US funding to Latin American countries should come with a provision recognizing the difficult economic and social conditions of the approximately 80–100 million Afro-Latinos.

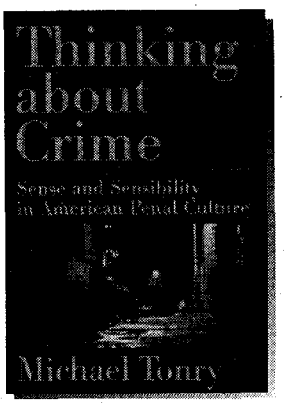
In truth, the relations between blacks and Latinos have never been as plain as black and white, as Tatcho Mindiola, Yolanda Flores Niemann and Nestor Rodriguez show in their valuable work of analytic sociology, *Black-Brown Relations and Stereotypes*. The book's measured discussion of black-Latino relations in Houston, in which attitudes are revealed through extensive questionnaires, contrasts markedly with Vaca's inflammatory selection of anecdotes from a single article published in March 2001 in the *Charlotte Post*, in which blacks were quoted as saying things about Mexican immigrants like "they're taking all of our jobs...they could be plotting to kill you and you would never know." But the two groups have at times successfully worked together on the West Coast, and black-Latino relations in New York are never completely smooth. While researching a piece about Spanish Harlem last year, I encountered strains between African-American and Latino politicians fighting over whether to call the region East Harlem or Spanish Harlem. The Harlem political machine that propped up Dinkins has often outmaneuvered and sometimes sabotaged Latino pols. But whether or not you think Sharpton was posturing for influence, he did spend three months in jail over Vieques. And how do Vaca's theories hold up in Freehold, New Jersey, where a black Baptist church is providing sanctuary for Mexican immigrant day laborers whose case is being represented by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund? In the end, Brownologists like Vaca question the value of a brown-black alliance in the same way many *mestizos* in Latin America distinguish themselves from blacks.

The Brownologists' excitement is fueled by an explosion of immigrants who are willing to work long, hard hours and who, unlike US citizen Puerto Ricans, are not eligible for welfare. But as anyone who has studied inner-city youth or picked up a copy of *Urban Latino* magazine knows, after a few generations many Latinos start to look more and more like African-Americans. It's in places like Chicago, with its mix of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and blacks, and Spanish Harlem, whose demographics are beginning to resemble Chicago's, that much of the work of black-Latino relations will be done. As NYU professor Arlene Dávila says in her forthcoming book, *Barrio Dreams*, "the relationship between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans...echoes that of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, at least in regards to a history of cooperation and competition." Aren't we always cooperating and competing with everyone we love?

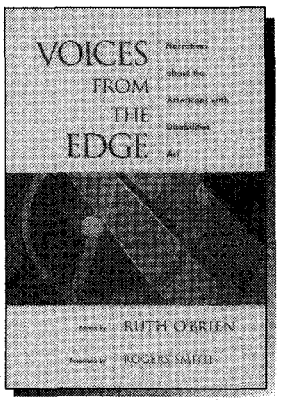
Migration to the United States has allowed many darker-skinned or Afro-Latinos (primarily from the Caribbean, but increasingly from South America) to embrace an African identity that was suppressed in their native countries. The fiction of Dominican-Americans like Nelly Rosario and Junot Diaz, and of Puerto Ricans like Edgardo Vega Yunqué and Piri Thomas, is part of a new understanding of Latino identity that could not have formed in the postcolonial culture of Latin America. When Richard Rodriguez, referring to the probability that most African-Americans have white blood in their genetic history, declares that "the last white freedom in America will be the freedom of the African American to admit brown," I can only wonder, when will the Brownologists be free to admit black?

Of course, racial cross-identification is only a preliminary step in the difficult process of creating and maintaining political alliances between oppressed groups. Vaca's book might be helpful in clearing the ground for future cooperation between blacks and Latinos by acknowledging points of contention. But the book is more likely to have the effect of reinforcing what generations of immigrants have been taught: that estrangement from blackness is the key to success in America. ■

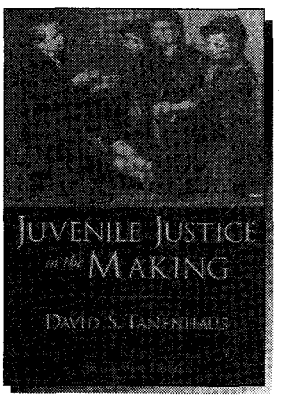
VOICES OF JUSTICE



"In this brilliant book, Michael Tonry shows how things came to be as they are and how they can be made better."
—Carol Moseley Braun $28.00



What is life like in post-ADA America? These compelling fiction and nonfiction narratives by the disabled bring a human face to the moral reasoning and personal consequences of the Americans with Disabilities Act. $16.95



"*Juvenile Justice in the Making* is a must read for anyone concerned with children."—Alex Kotlowitz, author of *There Are No Children Here* $29.95

At bookstores everywhere | www.oup.com/us/law

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

24 ISSUES JUST $21.97

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian orders add $13 for 24 issues, $26 for 47 issues. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail for 24 issues, $59 for 47 issues. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149

[ ] I'd prefer a full year (47 issues) for $35.97

For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536 4H8R

Moby is a longstanding Nation *reader.*

LICENSED TO LINZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Last Emperors

RICHARD VINEN

MAN OF THE CENTURY: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945. By John Ramsden. Columbia. 652 pp. $37.50.

CHARLES DE GAULLE. By Eric Roussel. Gallimard. 1,032 pp. 30 Euros.

Let's begin by throwing out all the facts, and insist on the truly serious things: the legends. —*Régis Debray,* À demain de Gaulle *(1990)*

If Winston Churchill is today the icon of an American right that denounced the "appeasement" of Iraq, Charles de Gaulle is the inspiration for some of those who continue to urge European governments to resist US imperialism. In this climate, biographies of each can be easily appropriated for political purposes. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani claimed that he began reading Roy Jenkins's biography of Churchill on the night of September 11, 2001, when he got back to his apartment. In a recent issue of the French journal *Le Débat*, de Gaulle biographer Jean Lacouture imagined a conversation between the Gaullist Jacques Chirac and the ghost of de Gaulle himself about the state of France, particularly its relations with America.

British writers on the left (Clive Ponting) and on the right (David Irving) have often attacked the Churchill myth, but rarely have they paused to say much about the man behind it. John Ramsden's *Man of the Century*, the first book to examine Churchill's post-1945 reputation, is a reversal in the trend. (Unfortunately, despite its broad scope, the book ignores Churchill's influence on the wider culture; Ramsden finds space to quote five separate reviews of Churchill's official biography but fails to mention Howard Brenton's *Churchill Play*). In contrast, Eric Roussel's *Charles de Gaulle* is, at first glance, a more conventional portrait. But like most French works on de Gaulle—and unlike most works on Churchill—it recognizes that there can be no clear-cut separation between the "reality" of de Gaulle's career and its mythic legacy.

De Gaulle and Churchill first met at a conference of British and French leaders in June 1940, and their reputations have been intertwined ever since. Churchill's sponsorship of de Gaulle allowed this relatively obscure officer to be in London when France signed an armistice with Nazi Germany and to establish himself as the leader of the "fighting French." June 18, 1940, the anniversary of Britain's defeat of the French at Waterloo in 1815, was the single most important day in the careers of both Churchill and de Gaulle—the day on which de Gaulle's "call to honor" and Churchill's "finest hour" speech were broadcast. As time went on, de Gaulle's rigid insistence on respect for French dignity annoyed Churchill—he remarked of de Gaulle that "he thinks he's Joan of Arc but I can't get my bloody bishops to burn him"—but the two men never broke with each other entirely, and they later marched in triumph together through liberated Paris.

The enduring relationship between Churchill and de Gaulle was based on a foundation of shared experiences and beliefs that stretched as far back as childhood. Born in the nineteenth century, both came of age in an era of sound money, European hegemony and cavalry charges. They began their respective careers as professional soldiers. Both established themselves as great orators and were thought, by some, to be great writers: Churchill won the Nobel Prize for literature (an honor never accorded to George Orwell or Graham Greene); de Gaulle's memoirs have recently been published (alongside the works of Proust and Gide) in the French Pléiade series of literary classics.

For most of their lives, both leaders were emphatically right-wing. Each opposed the Bolshevik Revolution early on, yet later allied with the left against Nazism. In 1940 Churchill was cheered by the Labour benches of the House of Commons more enthusiastically than he was by his own side. It is hard to believe that de Gaulle, without the support of the French Communist Party and the Soviet government, which recognized his claims to lead France before either Britain or America did so, would have returned to France in triumph in 1944. The French left did not like de Gaulle much between 1945 and 1970, but the general's real enemies were on the extreme right—among those who held him responsible for the loss of Algeria in 1962 and who made repeated attempts to assassinate him.

There are, of course, some serious differences between the careers of these two men—contrasts rooted first in their whole conception of politics. Churchill's morality was not one that even his contemporary admirers would be keen to espouse now: He was a racist, an opponent of women's suffrage and, during the General Strike of 1926, a ruthless opponent of the British working class. (Churchill's hatred of Nazism seems to have been heavily influenced by his philo-Semitism; he admired the Jews as much as he despised "niggers" and "chinks.") Yet in his own way he was an intensely moral politician. He did not believe in the simple pursuit of national interest. His speeches were saturated with references to Nazism, and he opposed Hitler not only because of the threat Germany posed to Britain but because of the threat the Third Reich posed to humanity.

Similarly, de Gaulle held some views that his present-day enthusiasts would find pretty unpalatable—particularly his unapologetic racism, of which Roussel produces some striking evidence. However, realpolitik was his only guide when it came to politics, and promoting the interests of France was his only aim. Most French citizens today would approve of the results of his actions; his distaste for Arabs did not prevent him from reaching an agreement with Algerian nationalists. However, it is disconcerting that his worldview lacked any ethical framework. De Gaulle saw Hitler as a threat to France, but he took little interest in the wider moral questions raised by Nazism. (Discussing Resistance attacks on German soldiers, he remarked, "If the Germans want us to stop killing them, they have only to go home.") For his part, Churchill was willing to ally with Stalin in the extraordinary circumstances of 1941, but he condemned Communist dictatorship in Europe almost as soon as the war was over. De Gaulle was worried by Stalinism only in the late 1940s, when there seemed to be a prospect that the Red Army would invade Western Europe. When it suited French interests, he was willing to consort with the most monstrous tyrants; as students began to tear up the cobblestones in May 1968, de Gaulle was having tea with Ceausescu.

Richard Vinen is the author, most recently, of A History in Fragments: Europe in the Twentieth Century *(Little, Brown).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unlike his French counterpart, Churchill thought in international terms. At his most ambitious he was a defender of "Christian civilization"; more frequently he talked of the "English-speaking peoples" (in practice this came to provide a convenient reworking of the empire that would include North America but exclude the independent states of India and Africa). He supported European integration, though it is not clear he thought Britain belonged in a unified Europe and, more than anyone else, he underwrote the alliance between Britain and the United States. De Gaulle didn't think beyond France's borders. He pulled his country out of NATO's joint command structures in 1966 and insured that the European Economic Community was confined to being a collection of independent states. He was hostile to the United States whenever he feared that it threatened French interests; when de Gaulle met Roosevelt in North Africa in 1943, secret servicemen with machine guns were posted behind a curtain in case he should physically attack the American President.

When de Gaulle made his first broadcast from London in June 1940, he was practically unknown in France; although his speech came to play a huge part in Gaullist mythology, it was not actually heard by all that many people. As the war dragged on, and as de Gaulle gained the support of the French Resistance, his reputation grew, but even so, it was uncertain whether the French public would welcome him back in 1944. That it did explains de Gaulle's euphoric speeches in Bayeux and Paris immediately after the liberation, when large numbers of French people set eyes on him for the first time.

Churchill's "finest hour" speech was an end where de Gaulle's "call to honor" had been a beginning, and the anticipatory elegy about how people would look back on Britain in a thousand years suggests that Churchill himself knew this. Before long, Churchill's star began to fade. Ramsden points out that while nearly the whole British population tuned in to Churchill's radio speeches of 1940, his audiences dropped sharply later on. The nature of Britain's involvement in the Second World War—industrial mobilization with increasing power given to trade unions—made Churchill's style seem less attractive.

After the war ended, Churchill's career became a shambles. His ungracious and tactless 1945 speech, in which he compared the Labour Party to the Gestapo, probably made the defeat of his party in the general election that year even worse than it need have been. Clement Attlee, the Labour leader who succeeded Churchill as Prime Minister, thanked Churchill for reminding the country of the difference "between Winston Churchill the great war leader and Mr. Churchill the leader of the Conservative party." Churchill's subsequent return to power, between 1951 and 1955, marked the most calamitous segment of a career that had contained more than its fair share of disasters. He was old and sick, and his entourage hid the extent of his infirmity from the country. Churchill still wanted a large role on a world stage that was, in reality, now dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union. Consequently, he neglected the economic and social changes that would affect the future prosperity of Britain.

Worship of Winston Churchill tends to increase the further you get from his own country. With de Gaulle, it's just the opposite.

De Gaulle, too, left power soon after the end of the war (though he did so of his own free will), and for a time it seemed that he would never again return. When he did, however, it was a triumph. In 1958 de Gaulle became first prime minister and then president of France; in the next four years he introduced a new constitution and removed France from Algeria. This period of de Gaulle's leadership hailed an era of rapid economic growth unlike any that France had, or has since, experienced. Even though de Gaulle was bored by economics, he understood that economic modernization was crucial if France was to enjoy domestic stability and international prestige. More generally, he understood that changing France's fortunes meant something more than simply restoring an order that had existed before 1914. Everything that de Gaulle did while in power—from testing France's first nuclear bomb to maintaining a direct relationship with the French people via television—involved the embrace of modernity.

Both Churchill and de Gaulle were great nostalgics who knew that their sense of belonging to a vanished world contributed to their political appeal. But where de Gaulle was ruthless about imposing change when he thought it necessary, Churchill was not. While Churchill railed against feminism and the dissolution of the British Empire, de Gaulle dissolved the French Empire, gave French women the vote and, perhaps more significant, legalized birth control in 1967.

More interesting is how differently these two men appealed to those beyond the borders of their own countries. The cult of Churchill held strongest sway outside the British Isles, and the most interesting parts of Ramsden's book concern America and Australia (the two key countries in Churchill's alliance of "English-speaking peoples"). Admirers could also be found in France, where de Gaulle's supporters often placed the two men on the same pedestal; the Avenue Winston Churchill near the Avenue Charles de Gaulle in Paris is much grander than any road named after Churchill in Britain. Churchill is venerated in Prague; Czechs assume that any enemy of Neville Chamberlain is a friend of theirs. There was even a Churchill cult in many Communist countries: Arpad Goncz, future president of Hungary, began translating Churchill's war memoirs when he was a political prisoner after the Hungarian uprising of 1956. In his own country, however, feelings about Churchill have always been reserved. De Gaulle, by contrast, is the subject of intense commemoration in France, but he is rarely discussed, except in terms of faint derision, outside its frontiers.

The difference is reflected in the attention accorded to June 18 in France and Britain. The anniversary of de Gaulle's "call to honor" is an important date in the political calendar; the movement for the legalization of cannabis even holds demonstrations to mark *le 18 joint*. I doubt if one British person in a hundred knows that Churchill's "finest hour" speech was broadcast on June 18. The French have named an institute, an airport, a part of central Paris and an aircraft carrier after de Gaulle. In Britain, Churchill's name is mainly commemorated in the name of pubs.

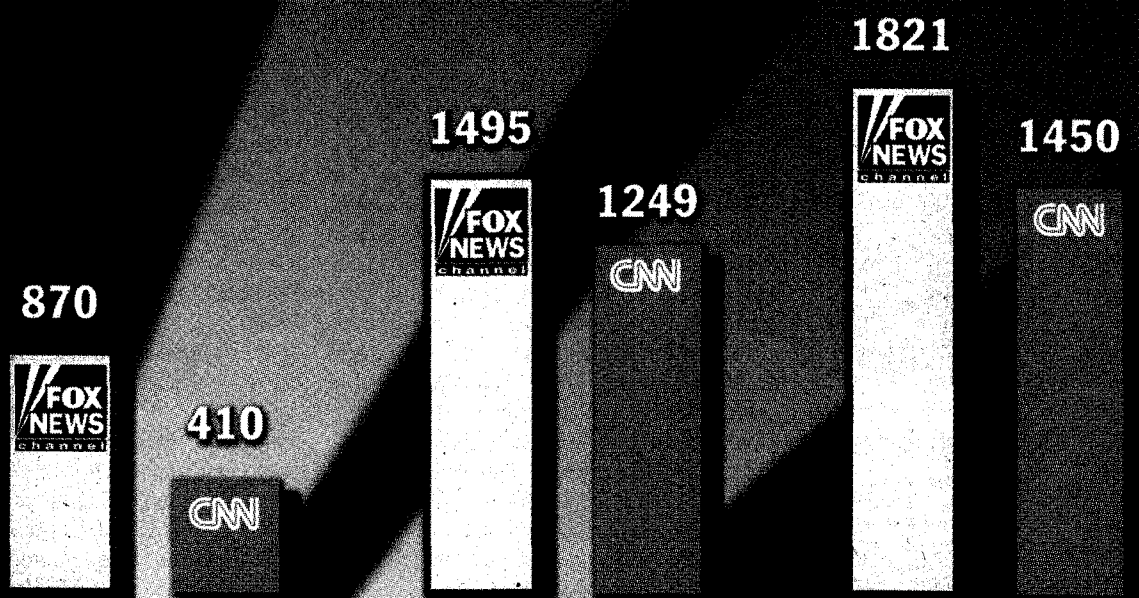
Churchill's internationalism went with a conscious cultivation of his reputation overseas. His mother was American, and he worked hard to build his reputation in the United States; the Australian prime minister Robert Menzies was one of the few men he cited by name in his "finest hour" speech; subsequently Menzies became, as Ramsden puts it, the "worldwide leader of the Churchill appreciation society." De Gaulle was too busy building a reputation in his own country to concern himself much with what was thought of him abroad. He almost invariably refused to speak English in public (Churchill never missed an opportunity to display his atrocious French).

The fact that de Gaulle is more admired in his own country than Churchill is in his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americans Make It FOX Over CNN

For Democratic Event Coverage



Democratic Presidential Debate

Iowa Caucus

New Hampshire Primary

"[Senator Kerry] said he learned from **FOX News** that he was the likely winner, and celebrated with supporters and advisors like Senator Edward M. Kennedy, manager Mary Beth Cahill (another Dorchester native), strategist Robert Shrum, and Kerry's brother Cam."
-The Boston Globe

FOX NEWS channel

AMERICA'S NEWSROOM

We report. You decide.™

Source: Nielsen Media Research, FNC vs CNN, Persons 2+ AA(000). Democratic Presidential Debate (1/4/04, 3-5p), Iowa Caucus (1/19/04, 8-10p), and New Hampshire Primary (1/27/04 8-10p). Subject to qualifications which will be made available upon request.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

South Africa Freedom Day—Ten Years after Apartheid: April 18–May 1; Women Building a Nation: August 1–14 • **Tanzania** Culture, Economy, and Sustainable Development, May 16–29

Reality Tours GLOBAL EXCHANGE
800-497-1994 ext. 221 | www.globalexchange.org

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the children of God." Matthew 5:9

If you believe Jesus, join us

Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America
www.bpfna.org

GROPPER • SIQUEIROS
Graphics from the Bryna Prensky Collection
Call Dr. David Prensky
(561) 832-8511

GREG PALAST

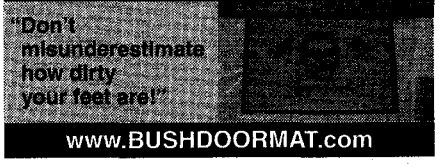
WEAPON OF MASS INSTRUCTION

SPOKEN WORD SALE!

CHOMSKY, ZINN, CHURCHILL, JIM HIGHTOWER, JELLO BIAFRA, ARUNDHATI ROY, & more!

+ FREE CATALOG +
ALTERNATIVE TENTACLES
PO BOX 419002
San Francisco, CA 94141-9002, USA
WWW.ALTERNATIVETENTACLES.COM

Get your BUSH DOORMAT today.



www.BUSHDOORMAT.com

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $10 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. For details please send SASE

Radio Nation

can be heard across the U.S. and in more than 100 other countries on shortwave radio on Radio for Peace International

has to do with how countrymen see the whole careers of these men. Outside Britain Churchill is remembered almost solely for what he did in the early part of World War II. Hitler remarked in 1942, "Had this war not come, who would speak of Winston Churchill?" The British, by contrast, remember all the less glorious episodes in his past—his support for the suppression of the General Strike, his involvement in the military disaster of Gallipoli, his opposition to Indian nationalism. The French, on the other hand, see de Gaulle as a great peacetime reformer as well as a war hero (about half of Roussel's biography concerns events after 1945).

There is, however, a more profound difference to consider: The cult of the great leader was weaker in Britain than in France. Mockery of those who purported to be great men played a large part in British public life, informing Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (published in 1918), Sellar and Yeatman's *1066 and All That* (published in 1930) and the magazine *Private Eye*, which was founded in 1961 specifically to poke fun at British public figures. Two facts explain Britons' rejection of the cult. First, Britain has never in modern times (not even in 1940) been in peril to the same extent as modern France. Joan of Arc, Clemenceau and de Gaulle all ejected invaders from French soil, but Britain has not been invaded since 1066—a date that Sellars and Yateman define as the last "memorable" date in British history. Second, Britain has a collegiate ruling class that does not take kindly to any individual member who elevates himself above his peers.

Recent French history, meanwhile, contains a series of sharp breaks—moments when the country was, in some way, refounded. De Gaulle saw his country governed under three different constitutions (one of which he instituted himself). Each new regime generated opportunities for the creation of new national heroes. British history, on the other hand, is marked by continuity. The institution of monarchy has not been seriously challenged since the seventeenth century, the same dynasty has been on the throne since the eighteenth century and the powerful aristocratic families—of which Churchill's own family was one of the most notable examples—have outlived a whole series of political regimes.

Churchill sometimes liked to think of himself as an outsider, and foreign observers often thought of him as distinguished from the gray blur of the English establishment. In truth, however, he was always an insider. The son of a Cabinet minister, he was educated at Harrow (a school that has provided two other British prime ministers in the twentieth century, not to mention a prime minister of India). He entered the House of Commons in 1901 and remained in it almost without interruption until his death in 1965. He refused ennoblement after the Second World War (he could have been Duke of London) so he could remain there. Churchill was, to use a word that reveals much about the British ruling class, "clubbable." He enjoyed gossip, jokes, smoking and, of course, drinking. He was one of the first British Cabinet ministers to address some of his colleagues by their first names.

De Gaulle, however, was a true outsider. He came from a family of Catholic right-wingers who were deeply hostile to republican France. His exile did not begin when he fled Pétain's France in June 1940 but in 1907, when he went to school in Belgium because the Jesuits had been excluded from education in France. De Gaulle went into the army partly because it was one of the few careers open to a man who wanted nothing to do with the institutions of the Third Republic. On a personal level, according to Roussel, de Gaulle didn't feel particularly at home in any social circle. He was aloof and formal even as a young man. Perhaps his daughter Anne (who was born with Down's syndrome and who died in 1948) was the only person with whom de Gaulle allowed himself to show his feelings.

De Gaulle despised the *république des camarades* of banquets and backslapping and buying rounds of drinks for electors at the Café du Commerce. He disliked Parliament, and his aides had difficulty in persuading him to humor it with a brief speech in 1958. The president of the Fifth Republic (the only political position that de Gaulle held for a significant length of time) is almost the antithesis of the British prime minister. Whereas the prime minister is a "first among equals" who works by persuasion without clearly defined constitutional powers, the president is a head of state who stands at the apex of the French Constitution. De Gaulle's Cabinet meetings were coldly formal occasions where ministers who dared to speak about matters outside the remit of their own department were slapped down. De Gaulle's prime ministers were comparatively junior men and were sacked if they showed too much independence of judgment.

Oddly, however, de Gaulle's extreme haughtiness was not accompanied by personal vanity. Indeed, de Gaulle the man seems to have regarded de Gaulle the myth with a curious sense of detachment. In this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

respect he was very different from Churchill. Churchill believed in his own legend—AJ Balfour once said of him, "Winston has written a big book about himself and called it *The World Crisis*." Churchill loved dressing up in the uniforms that belonged to his various offices—Lord of the Admiralty, Warden of Cinque Ports, Knight of the Garter. He changed his costume several times on the day of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation, and he was peeved that the young Queen attracted more attention than he did. De Gaulle never wore any uniform except that of a two-star general, a rank he had earned on the battlefield. In the 1960s de Gaulle, in an uncharacteristic attempt to mend transatlantic relations, sent the *Mona Lisa* to the United States; at about the same time, Churchill sent a collection of his own watercolors.

De Gaulle disliked the personalization of politics that came so easily to Churchill. When Churchill tried to develop de Gaulle's reputation among the British public in 1940, de Gaulle complained, "He is launching me like a soap." De Gaulle knew how important myths were, but he also knew how to keep them in their place, and the most important myth of de Gaulle's career—that the French had "liberated themselves"—was one that drew its power from the fact that everyone knew it to be untrue. Churchill was Falstaff, sentimental underneath his earthiness; de Gaulle was Henry V, ruthless with everyone including himself and conscious that the past must be buried.

In his memoirs Churchill recalls his first meeting with de Gaulle. He claims that he went up to the tall, melancholy French general at the chaotic Franco-British meeting as the Germans advanced into France in 1940 and referred to him as *l'homme du destin*. Asked about this incident by a historian, de Gaulle denied that any such words had ever been uttered. He added dismissively, "Churchill is a romantic." ■

MUSIC

JC's Resurrection

BENJAMIN HEDIN

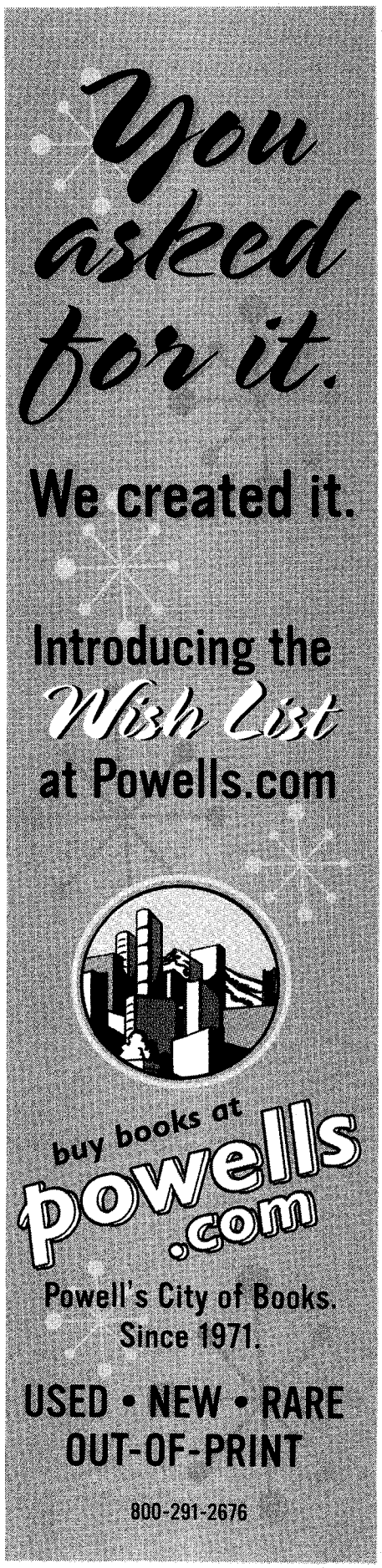
JOHNNY CASH

The story of American popular music contains several moments when a career that has gone south is dramatically resurrected before an awed and grateful public. Sometimes the moment is brief, such as Elvis's appearance on NBC's Christmastime special in 1968, or it can last for years, like the Dylan revival that began with *Time Out of Mind* and shows no sign of ebbing. Johnny Cash's comeback, heralded by *American Recordings* and lasting for the final decade of his life, was even more unexpected than Elvis's or Dylan's. Cash had been dropped from the roster of Columbia Records and was playing gigs at North Dakota rodeos when he met rap producer Rick Rubin near the end of 1993. Although he knew very little about either Cash or country music, Rubin signed him to the fledgling American Recordings label. The partnership revitalized Cash, restoring his powers as an interpreter of country and pop, won several awards and brought the 1990s generation into his listenership.

After his death this past September, American Recordings released *Cash Unearthed*, a boxed set that gathers outtakes from Cash's four studio albums with Rubin (*American Recordings*, *Unchained*, *Solitary Man* and *The Man Comes Around*), a disc of gospel hymns performed solo by Cash on acoustic guitar and a fifteen-song compilation titled *Best of Cash on American*. In keeping with the rest of his catalogue, the set contains songs of murder, faith, trains, the open road and lost love, by country forebears such as Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter Family as well as Beck, ex-grunge rocker Chris Cornell (of Soundgarden fame) and other "alternative" songwriters. It is a deep and often puzzling lexicon, with no peer in recent American music, and one that makes for a pleasantly coherent end to a wild and uneven career.

In the beginning, Rubin simplified the Cash sound, stripping it of the studio gim-

Benjamin Hedin, the editor of Studio A: The Bob Dylan Reader *(to be published in September by Norton), is currently at work on a novel.*


You asked for it.
We created it.
Introducing the Wish List at Powells.com
buy books at powells.com
Powell's City of Books. Since 1971.
USED • NEW • RARE OUT-OF-PRINT
800-291-2676

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mickry and melodramatic production that marred most of his releases in the late 1970s and '80s. Rubin told him: "You would take your guitar, sit down in front of a microphone and sing me the songs you love. Just sing me everything you want to record." They recorded over a hundred songs at these first sessions. In that time Rubin also played Cash some of his favorite songs, by artists like Tom Waits and Glenn Danzig. Cash responded to this material eagerly—"song collecting is something I've always been interested in." The songs on *American Recordings* revisit the dark and comic themes long associated with Cash, all drawn from sources that seem forbiddingly incongruent. The album's success turned out to be a powerful statement on the genealogy of recorded music as much as a sign of Cash's return to relevance and credibility.

The strange coupling of sources became a sort of trademark. On *American IV: The Man Comes Around*, the most memorable performances are of Nine Inch Nails' "Hurt," Depeche Mode's "Personal Jesus," a duet with Nick Cave on "I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry," the Tin Pan Alley standard "We'll Meet Again" and Cash's own "The Man Comes Around" and "Tear Stained Letter." It is clear that Rubin, who is best known for working with the Beastie Boys, Run DMC, Red Hot Chili Peppers and LL Cool J, had an agenda: to market Cash as the original outlaw rocker and, by extension, as one of the founding fathers of gangsta rap. But it is a tribute to Cash's vocal power and natural musical talents that so many of these performances impart a convincing aura of originality. His lush, pliable baritone makes itself at home in both Soundgarden and Jimmie Rodgers. "Nobody's song is safe out there from me," Cash said. "I go through 'em all, picking and gleaning." He reworks many of his own singles as well, from as far back as 1957's "Give My Love to Rose," and several tracks on *Unearthed* acknowledge Cash's contemporaries—Nashville writers like Billy Joe Shaver and Kris Kristofferson, fellow Sun Records alumni Roy Orbison and Carl Perkins. There is a lovely nod to George Jones in a performance of "He Stopped Loving Her Today." Listening to the eight discs Cash recorded for the American Recordings label, one is reminded of the great song-gathering projects of the last century, *Plantation Songs*, the *Anthology of American Folk Music* and so forth. *Unearthed* is an anthology in its own right, mostly of the postwar white American song literature, from Rodgers and Hammerstein to Dolly Parton to Neil Young.

After *American Recordings*, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers became the house band for Cash, and they were complemented by superb musicians throughout: longtime Cash partners Jack Clement and Marty Stuart, bluegrass stalwarts Norman Blake and Randy Scruggs, and a number of guests, including Fiona Apple, Don Henley, Willie Nelson, Merle Haggard and the late Joe Strummer, who join Cash on vocals. Some moving duets were also made by Cash and his wife, June Carter. Without these recordings, it is likely that Cash's career would have come to a quiet or ignominious end, the obituaries upon his death chronicling the loss of a great and precocious talent to a lifelong battle with drugs. His struggles with pills continued while he was working with Rubin, but the collaboration's success, combined with his recurring health problems, mellowed his self-destructive habits, and he became more and more focused on honing his repertoire. The songs on *American Recordings*, above all, are about this paradox: Only at the behest of a modern rap icon did Cash properly return to his country and rockabilly roots. By looking at the end of the tradition, he was able to find the beginning.

Cash generally stopped writing memorable songs in 1958, when he left Sun Records for Columbia and entered a second year of addiction to amphetamines. Although he remained popular and prolific, producing an average of two or three albums a year, the fire that produced "Folsom Prison Blues," "I Walk the Line," "Big River" and other country classics burned too swiftly, too brightly and swallowed much of his creative talent in the backdraft. "Man in Black" aside, it is difficult to name a Cash standard written after the 1950s. On the *American Recordings* series, there are only eight new Cash originals (three of which appear in altered versions in the boxed set), and five of these

Wherever The Wander Leads

opposable thumbs won't save us from ourselves
though they've helped exaggerate the drama sliding
toward denouement without free overdraft protection

only therapists and bomb-sniffing dogs, three months
or three thousand miles, whichever comes first.
Opposable thumbs won't save us from ourselves

as your toddler shuffles in, lifts up the sheet and asks
his mommy if he can have a chipmunk, too. Little people
don't care about free overdraft protection, oblivious

each whenever contains its own history, bootcrunch
and snort, the ding, ding, ding of the microwave warming
opposable thumbs that won't save us from ourselves,

the swollen grapes blowing autumn down the river
through the village, those diligent shops and steeples,
the promise of free overdraft protection, ibid, ergo,

ad infinitum.... Let the poem fracture prosody,
the tonic go flat, opposable thumbs won't save us
from ourselves, the office file crammed

with spooky government forms. Why live
in the stable of free overdraft protection. Darling,
I love how we somersault, how we bounce.

Thom Ward

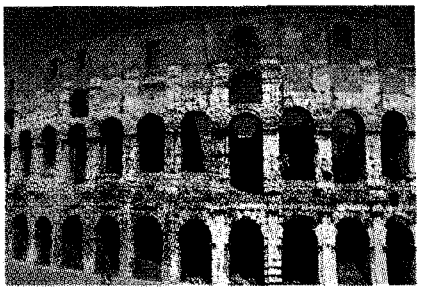
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMAZING TREASURE DISCOVERY OVER 1,670 YEARS IN THE MAKING

FOUND: GLADIATOR'S ORIGINAL PAYCHECK

HOLD THE GLORY OF ROME IN THE PALM OF YOUR HANDS

The old saying "don't judge a book by it's cover" is more than just idle advice. It also led to a truly amazing treasure discovery that can put the glory and splendor of ancient Rome into the palm of your hands! During a recent construction project in northern Turkey, a dirt-encrusted earthen jar was uncovered. The curious worker was about to throw the filthy thing away as nothing more than trash. But then something made him tug on the old cloth visible through the cracks. To his surprise, a pile of coins spilled out. His discovery is now your opportunity because these weren't just any coins—they were scarce historic Roman Commemorative coins that had been buried 1,670 years ago!



COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF ROME

Just who buried these coins is still a mystery. It could have been a Roman soldier, a merchant or even a barbarian chieftain who had been given the coins as a bribe not to wage war on Rome. What is known is that these coins were first issued in 330 AD by Emperor Constantine the Great. They were struck to honor the city of Rome as the cultural center of the Roman Empire in what has to be one of the most successful marketing campaigns in history. Constantine used these coins as an effective public relations ploy as he moved the capital from Rome to his new city, aptly named Constantinople. To honor the founding of his new capital—and to soothe the hearts of Roman identity—these "*Urbs Roma*" (City of Rome) bronze coins were handed out during the consecration ceremony for Constantinople on May 11, 330. Some experts of ancient coins agree that no other Roman coin was ever struck for such a specific event making the City of Rome coin ***the FIRST Commemorative Coin of the Roman Empire!***

STUNNING DESIGN

The detailed design of this coin is a history lesson and an epic folk tale rolled into one. For the first time, the obverse of a Roman coin did not show the portrait of the emperor. Instead, it showed the bust of Roma, goddess of the City of Rome, wearing a crested helmet. She is surrounded in Roman letters VRBS ROMA to signify the tribute to the City of Rome. The coin's reverse vividly depicts the origin of Rome—a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. In Roman legend, Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of the war god Mars, laid the foundation of Rome in the Seven Hills near the Tiber River. Romulus built his own city wall, killed his jealous brother and assumed dominion over the settlement. Roman historians traditionally set the date of Rome's founding at 753 BC. The image of the she-wolf and the twins became the symbol of the city of Rome. In addition to the scene, two stars appear above the she-wolf, which refer to Rome's perpetualness.

LIMITED QUANTITIES AVAILABLE

More than sixteen centuries old, this stunning coin has survived the rise and fall of empires, earthquakes, floods and two world wars. It was carried by everyone from Roman emperors to soldiers and from merchants to peasants. There's no better way to touch the history of the great Roman Empire than to hold the coins of that era literally in the palm of your hand. This classic Roman coin is perfect for novice enthusiasts, seasoned coin collectors, students and anyone who has ever been moved by the romance, beauty and rich history of Rome. Unfortunately, quantities are extremely limited. Demand is certain to be overwhelming so call now for your best chance at obtaining this historic piece of the Roman Empire.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

Imagine owning the first commemorative coin of the world's first superpower! Compare that to the first U.S. commemorative, the 1892 Columbian Exposition Half-Dollar, which sells for over $700 in Brilliant Uncirculated condition. You could expect to pay hundreds of dollars for this "City of Rome" coin. Fortunately for you, we were able to secure the rights for the entire hoard allowing us to make them available at the very affordable price of only $37.50 per coin. You can also buy three coins for only $99. Your "City of Rome" Bronze Coin will be protected in a clear acrylic holder and comes mounted in a deluxe presentation case. You'll also receive an all-important Certificate of Authenticity. The First Federal Mint is so sure of the lasting value of these antiquities that we will repurchase your coins at any time in the next 24 months at the full purchase price.

RESERVE YOUR COIN TODAY!

These "City of Rome" Bronze Coins are not available in stores. Do not let this chance to own an important piece of history at such a low price pass you by. Call now to reserve your coin. Orders will be accepted on a strict first-call, first-served basis. Sold-out orders will be promptly refunded.

Each Coin is over 1,600 years old with VERY limited quantities—Order Now!

City of Rome Bronze Coin $37.50 +S&H

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY

1-800-386-7187

Promotional Code CRB104-01

Please mention Promotional Code when you call.

We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

FIRST FEDERAL MINT

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. CRB104-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

WWW.FIRSTFEDERALMINT.COM **1-800-386-7187**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEMORIAL FOR EDWARD SAID

Wednesday, March 3, 2 PM

St. Paul's Chapel
Columbia University
(with overflow at Lerner Hall)

free, open to the public

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■War and Global Capitalism. Unemployment and Recession. For speakers and resources on these and related topics, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We can provide speakers for formal or informal events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations. Our speakers can talk about wealth and poverty, and the economic forces that generate increasing income inequality, among and within countries. Contact us at soapbox@comcast.net or (201) 792-7459.

NEW YORK

A Gathering of The TRIBES

■Tribes magazine, Tribes Gallery, Fly By Night Press. Literary readings, music, performances now available. *Ovarian Twists: New and Selected Poems* by Anyssa Kim, $14, published by Fly By Night Press, a subsidiary of A Gathering of the Tribes, Inc. *A Gathering of the Tribes* magazine, issue #10, $12.50, is at quality bookstores in your area, or order directly from Tribes, PO Box 20693, Tompkins Square Station, New York, NY 10009, info@tribes.org, www.tribes.org, (212) 674-8262. Every month, Tribes Gallery presents excellent art shows from the perspective of diversity. Call for appointment. Hours 12–6 PM, Tuesday–Sunday. We are at 285 East 3rd Street (between Avenues C and D), 2nd floor.

Radical Walking Tour!!!

■ Bruce Kayton will be giving a four-hour tour of Greenwich Village on Sunday, March 14, at 1 PM. The tour includes the Weather Underground, Angela Davis and the Women's House of Detention, John Reed, the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire of 1911, the Stonewall Riots and more. Call (718) 492-0069 or go to www.radicalwalkingtours.org for the Spring 2004 schedule. Look for the book *Radical Walking Tours of New York City* at a bookstore near you.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

date from the first record with Rubin. After Cash was found to have a nervous system disorder in 1997, his songwriting practically ended altogether.

Yet he somehow managed, in the last years of his life, to write what is arguably his greatest original song, "The Man Comes Around." The song begins and ends by quoting from chapter six of the Book of Revelation, in which Saint John the Divine encounters the spirits of Hell and Death riding horseback. The music opens starkly, with staccato strumming of a single chord; a boom-chicka-boom vamp on C. Cash's melody, too, is monotone, conjuring doom and portent by canceling any particular tonality. "There's a man going around, taking names/And he decides who to free and who to blame." Cash speaks these opening lines as much as he sings them; along with the reciting of Revelation, he may as well be delivering verse from a pulpit. Then he comes to a vision of Judgment Day, "there'll be a golden ladder reaching down," and the guitar breaks out of the vamp, moving into a major-chord progression that marvelously affirms the tag line "when the man comes around." Rubin's production is sharp, doubling the roots of the chords deep in the register of a piano and adding more guitars and an organ in the background to create a feeling of divine presence. The song eloquently gathers all of the contradictions Cash felt as a practicing Christian—wickedness, rebellion, the inevitability of sin in the face of a merciful and redeeming Father—and one line in the chorus, "one hundred million angels singing," poignantly echoes the last words of Cash's older brother Jack, whose death the singer called "more of an inspiration, I suppose, than anything else that has ever come to me through any man."

No other American songwriter—certainly none of Cash's immediate heirs or predecessors, like Hank Williams or Dylan—possessed the sort of obsession, or waged the same struggle, with faith inherent in a song like "The Man Comes Around." Faith is what unites all of Cash's best music. Even his most devilish murder songs, like "Delia's Gone" or "Folsom Prison Blues," are a kind of slap at God, another way of depicting his frustrated yearning for redemption. Much of Cash's greatness is rooted in this sort of ambivalence; he said in one interview, "The battle against the dark one and the clinging to the right one is what my life is about." The context surrounding this faith is clarified by the fourth volume of *Unearthed*, *My Mother's Hymn Book*, a collection of fifteen tunes taken from a songbook owned by Cash's mother, *Heavenly Highway Hymns*. Cash accompanies himself on guitar, turning traditional hand-clappers like "Do Lord" and "When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder" into subdued folk pieces. His singing is discernibly more soulful than it usually is; these songs come off as *a cappella* dirges sung alone in a cathedral. On "Softly and Tenderly," for instance, he stretches his voice as high and as resonantly as its seventy years would allow, the lines "come home, come home, ye who are weary come home," set forth as though he were finally auditioning before God's ear.

The completion of this album was deeply satisfying to Cash—"you asked me to pick my favorite album I've ever made and this is it"—since there was no music closer to his heart (two of the hymns, "I'll Fly Away" and "I'm Bound for the Promised Land," were sung at Jack's funeral). When he first met Sam Phillips of Sun Records, Cash said he wanted to record a gospel album. Phillips replied that gospel didn't sell; Cash came back a few weeks later and sang "Hey, Porter" instead. In interviews over the years he would frequently return to the idea of recording a solo gospel album. He learned to love that music as a boy on the farm in Dyess, Arkansas. "The last thing I remember before going to sleep," Cash wrote once, "was my mother beating time on the old Sears Roebuck guitar, singing 'What Would You Give in Exchange for Your Soul?'" When John was 4, the Cashes sent away to Sears Roebuck again, this time for the radio on which he would discover Rodgers, Hank Snow and the Louvin Brothers' noontime broadcast.

Heavenly Highway Hymns predates even this—"my mother's guitar and singing was like the harp of King David that we read about in the Bible. It brought a closeness and comfort that couldn't be found any other way.... By the time I was four I was singing along with her on the gospel songs." It is easy to see why Cash saw this album as the central achievement of his collaboration with Rubin. Working his way down the line, from U2 through Neil Diamond and Chuck Berry and Alan Lomax to the Carter Family, he finally arrived at the earliest music of his childhood. Just months before he died, he recorded *My Mother's Hymn Book* in his cabin studio, which from the outside doesn't look all that different from the five-room farmhouse in which he grew up in Dyess. In the notes to *Unearthed*, Cash writes, "All my life I worked towards that end." Past this, there were no more songs. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

BOOKLETS

ANSWERING MEL GIBSON: Jesus Fictional—Incontrovertible Proof. Josephus created Jesus, gospels. Scholarly booklet: $10. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE.)

BOOKS

AXIS OF TROUBLE: Subversive, satirical Troubletown cartoons! See www.troubletown.com.

STOP BUSH IN 2004: The Complete Action Handbook for Citizens Wanting to Defeat Bush. Available at Amazon.com, StopBushin2004.com.

SUPERPOWER AMERICA: How the Military Industrial Complex Defeated the American People. Excerpt: www.superpoweramerica.com. Order from Amazon.com and barnesandnoble.com.

BECAUSE AMERICAN CHRISTIANS should have a social conscience...*Engaging in Social Deviance as an Act of Christian Love*...Rev. Jamie Kaufman, 1st Book Publishers, Amazon.com.

CARPENTRY

FTK CARPENTRY. General contracting, residential and commercial. "Restorations our Speciality." NYC metro and central Vermont. Call (914) 589-2105 or e-mail moonillusion@aol.com. Licensed and insured.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist, manipulation, muscle-balancing, organ energy, cranial, sacral & acu-point work. One-hour sessions. (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoriarepetto.meta-ehealth.com.

COUNSELING

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: TREAT depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

FINANCING SOUGHT

FILMMAKER SEEKS FUNDS for film on imminent draft and endless WAR. Anything helps. (510) 665-6086. kalkarn@earthlink.net.

GOURMET FOOD

VEGETARIAN MEAL DELIVERY SERVICE—Nationwide overnight delivery. Manhattan messenger delivery. Healthy, affordable meals prepared by a professional chef. www.lagustasluscious.com or (201) 530-0986.

INFORMATION NEEDED

ARROWHEAD LODGE. Sharing memories, 1942–62, would be appreciated; please contact Lita Moses at (914) 834-4139 or e-mail leabella19@hotmail.com.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

THE RIGHT STUFF: Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles

links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

SHORT, SHARP SOCIALIST seeks same (only taller): 53-year-old woman, Philadelphia. Reply to Nation Box 381, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

PHD ECONOMIST, widower of 3 1/2 years, active, middle 80s, sense of humor, politically active, interested in music, the arts and good food, sociable, financially secure. New York City residence and weekend country home, seeks companion to share time, living and a growth of intimacy. Reply to Nation Box 382, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOMAN OF A CERTAIN AGE *MAIS TOUJOURS BELLE*: Small-boned blonde, 105 lbs (I've been told that I look like a movie star), journalist, foreign correspondent, now retired, long based in Paris. Now living in Washington, DC. Seeks educated professional with *joie de vivre*. Reply to Nation Box 383, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

ISO SON-IN-LAW. Sincere cerebral compassionate scientific self-assured imaginative tolerant natural individualist optimist funny, for family with my outstanding daughter. SASE biography. Reply to Nation Box 384, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

56-YEAR-OLD PROGRESSIVE WIDOWER, aviation professional, enjoys outdoors, camping, traveling, cultural/music events, ISO SF, 45–59, Albany, NY, Western MA, LTR. Reply to Nation Box 385, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LEFTIST ACTIVIST/ECONOMIST, female, 42. Independent, affectionate. Incorrigible sense of humor. Love animals, nature, music. Enjoy exploring new places, near and far, but equally happy puttering about at home, reading, cooking. Seeking man with dry wit, big heart and passion for social justice and the environment. Reply to Nation Box 386, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

SLEEK AND STYLISH, thoughtful, caring, lefty (from the days when left was voting for Adlai Stevenson, not Bill Clinton), hoping for a special man to spend time with over a glass of wine, dinner, the theater...not a big deal. Just a nice time. Reply to Nation Box 387, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

STATE INMATE SEEKS PEN PALS. 38-year-old male with law degree, interest in current events and history. Traveled and studied abroad extensively, including stint in Oxford, UK. Read *New York Times* and watch C-Span. Enjoy writing poetry. Reply to Nation Box 388, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

WITTY ANGLOPHILE/TRAINOPHILE SEEKS SAME. Divorced, secure 40 yr. female writer, no children (rescue animals), English-educated, trilingual, bibliophile, trainophile, *Guardian/Nation*, walker/"rambler," Euro-history buff. Organic, Bove, Korten, Pratchett, Frye and Laurie, Britcoms, MT. Outraged by Corporation BUSH. Escape US hyperspeed mall/car/TV culture? Seek similar quiet m/f cat-lover up to 65. No Virgos. Reply to Nation Box 391, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

STRICTLY HONEST, 64-year-old light-skinned nonwhite, slightly crippled female with diverse intellectual interests who likes and respects men and is always ethical in her dealings with them would like to meet a gentleman 50–70 years old to love, to be loved by and to be guided by. Western Massachusetts location. No recreational drug users please. Reply to Nation Box 392, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

WANTED: BEAU FOR MY MOM. She's warm, smart, sweet, spicy and likes art, music, good books, long walks and Democrats. She has hair and temperament like cinnamon, age 50 and beautiful, lawyer with poet's heart. Reply to Nation Box 389, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

A MITE LONG-IN-THE-TOOTH but a pulsing woman, Manhattan native with interests in literature, theater, primitive arts, Bach, Billie, Bix, good food (spare me Zagat!) and a penchant for writing light verse, would meet bright amiable fellow. Reply to Nation Box 390, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MARRIAGE CONSULTANTS

WHY CIVIL UNION? Marry in Canada. One Proud Day same-sex marriage consultants, Toronto, Ontario. Toll-free 1-866-414-1121, oneproudday.com.

MERCHANDISE

DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT!™ SeeYaGeorge.com. Over 100 Anti-Bush & Anti-Republican items and growing!

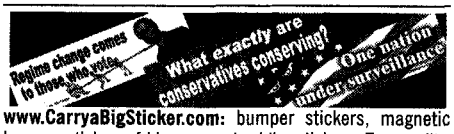
AND OTHER UNIQUE POLITICAL bumper stickers, T-shirts, satire and commentary: www.DemocracyMeansYou.com/nation.

WWW.DONNELLYCOLT.COM: Secure online ordering: unique progressive gifts.

ERADICATE BUSH, ABBA, BUSHWHACKED, BUSH LEAGUE, BUCK FUSH. Shirts, mugs, hoodies, hats, lunchboxes, more! www.cafeshops.com/abba2004.

TOPPLE BUSH! Anti-Bush T-shirts, bumper stickers, posters. The ultimate gifts for Christmas. Donating 10 percent toward defeating Bush. Visit www.topplebush.com today!

"THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION: Weapons of Mass Deception" 3"x11½" bumper stickers. For sale online at monkeyrunway.com.



www.CarryaBigSticker.com: bumper stickers, magnetic bumper stickers, fridge magnets, bike stickers. Top quality. Many other designs.

JESUS WAS A LIBERAL or Stupid Conservatives T-shirts: www.liberaljesus.com.

"DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER!" bumper sticker. Blue with white letters. $2.50 (734) 663-9292.

TOPPLE BUSH T-SHIRTS, stickers, posters. Cool designs—clever messages. Donating 10 percent toward defeating Bush. www.topplebush.com.

ORGANIZATIONS

EXPLORE HUMANISM. See www.AmericanHumanist.org; call (866) HUMANISM.

BOSTON AREA STUDY GROUP discussing Gramsci's work starting in March. Call (617) 731-8725.

WWW.WISDOMPROJECT.NET. Join the worlds only open source democratic think tank.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

ORGANIZATIONS

PITTSBURGH *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact George Kanakis, (412) 421-3751, e-mail G.Kanakis@verizon.net.

WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

LEWISVILLE, TX, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (972) 219-4673 for more information.

MANCHESTER, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. Call Gary at (860) 649-0574 after 6:30 PM. Planning to meet on the last Sunday of every month.

ST. LOUIS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP NOW forming. Please contact Mary at (314) 352-5155.

OKLAHOMA CITY AREA: WANT A *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP? Call Hal Cousins at (405) 677-3623.

SAN JOSE, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Please contact Lawrence Bryan for further information. Call (408) 294-1073 or e-mail sjnation@yahoogroups.com.

WHEELING, WV, *NATION* STUDY GROUP FORMING: This ad is legitimate and not a joke. Contact Dianne Burnham, (304) 232-0590.

CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

WASHINGTON, DC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets third Saturday of the month at 3–5 PM. We invite new members. For more information call Frances Pasmanick at (202) 363-0278, e-mail fpasmanick@juno.com.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

LOUISVILLE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Lauren Kehr at (502) 893-9643 for more information.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR: See www.AddictInTheFamily.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.MedicalMJ.org and www.DrugSense.org.

PUBLISHER

NONFICTION MANUSCRIPTS WANTED: Top royalties, major distribution: Brown Walker Press, www.BrownWalker.com.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

INTERNATIONAL LABOR COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION seeks media activist. Coordinate website ilcaonline.org, newsletter and education programs. Washington, DC, office. Knowledge unions, workers, media reform. Salary $40,000 range. Letter and résumé: Martin Fishgold, Search Committee, Local 371, 817 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT for nationally known progressive author working on political-economic systems "beyond capitalism and socialism." Progressive values, economics and/or public policy background necessary. Some administrative responsibilities. See www.ncesa.org. Send résumé and writing sample to jguinan@ncesa.org.

***NATION* DIGITAL ARCHIVE SALES:** The Nation Publishing Company LLC and Kanda Software seek commission sales representatives to sell The *Nation* Digital Archive to the library and academic market. Our unique archive brings researchers all 138 years of *The Nation*, online and fully searchable. Access to the archive is available on a subscription basis via the web. We are looking for independent contractors nationwide with proven success in outbound, relationship-based telephone sales. Candidates should possess excellent verbal and written skills, and the ability to demo the archive effectively at local institutions. Familiarity with web-based products and the library market preferred. This is an excellent opportunity for skilled sales people with enthusiasm for and knowledge of history and progressive politics. Attractive commission structure with strong earning potential. To learn more about the archive please visit www.nationarchive.com/intro.htm. Interested candidates should send résumé and cover letter to The Nation Digital Archive, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or e-mail to kthomas@thenation.com.

COPY EDITOR. Part-time opening in the *Nation* copy department for assistant copy editor. Send résumé to Copy Chief, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 or e-mail to rcarey@thenation.com. AA/EOE.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***THE NATION*, AMERICA'S OLDEST** and fastest-growing political magazine, seeks student representatives nationwide. Help us build a student movement, amplify our progressive politics, unseat George W. Bush in 2004 and introduce *The Nation* to a new community. We're looking for students to help us sell subs, give away copies of the mag, assist us in placing articles in student publications, coordinate events, distribute books, curriculum material, buttons, T-shirts and posters. Be your school's "source" for Nation Activist Materials. For more info, e-mail students@thenation.com.

POSITIONS DESIRED

FORMER *NATION* INTERN available for research, editing and writing work of any type. Experience includes print and web journalism, online and telephone research, fact-checking and academic research and writing. References, résumé and published clips available on request. E-mail rebecca.tuhus-dubrow@aya.yale.edu.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, PhD, 25 years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. *Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall* vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

NEW YORK CITY PSYCHOTHERAPIST, Upper West Side, thirty years' experience. Individuals, couples and families. Accepts Insurance. Laura Guggenheim, C.S.W. (212) 665-8666.

RADIO

To advertise your radio program or station here, call us at (212) 209-5400.

"MERIA HELLER—THE BEST WEBCASTER ON THE NET": News you can't afford to miss. See www.meria.net.

REAL ESTATE

N.C. RTP/CHAPEL HILL AREA: 2-story post and beam strawbale construction on 11.6 wooded acres; 4+ acres fenced; very convenient to I-85/40; $245,000. See realtor.com/Prop/1028737219. Call (919) 644-8710.

COSTA RICAN TROPICAL OASIS for affordable luxury rentals and lots near San José. Fabulous mountain vistas. See www.crgetaway.com or call (800) 234-9331.

SPANISH STUDY

GUATEMALA: Study Spanish plus CLEP, Praxis preparation, internship, voluntary work, cheap tours: www.casaxelaju.com.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 32, www.globalexchange.org.

INDIA: www.tripsintoindia.com. Cultural tours and Himalayan adventures with Carol and Martin Noval. Getting into the earth's last living ancient civilization. E-mail tripsintoindia@usa.net, call (415) 381-9800.

WEBSITE

WWW.OLDTOWNREVIEW.COM: *"Such an arcane adventure seems designed to provoke a highly public fight."*

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

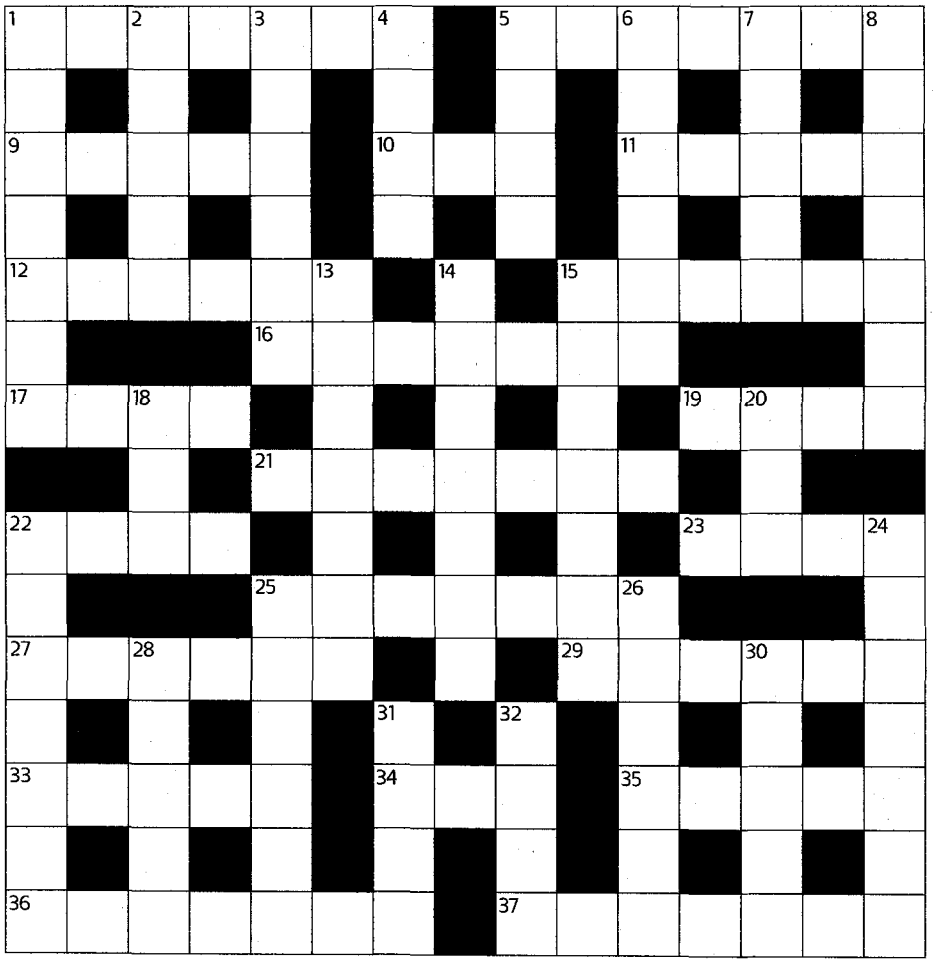
Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2930

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 5 across and **32** down Is the population here particularly "dense"? (7,7,4)

9 If you want to see a sign of the "take-away"—this is it. (5)

10 and **18** down What to do with the old calendar page is a way to take advantage of you, with the gravestone sign gone. (3-3)

11 Lank and lean and awkward. (5)

12 Makes someone happy, being passed on in two directions. (6)

15 Game that might allow you to come across? (6)

16 The sort of modern musical entertainment that has a true following, possibly? Pure ecstasy! (7)

17 and **19** If not a flower, you might not like to have it thrown to you. (Held in winter?) (8)

21 I leave what might cause a case to be thrown out, because of so much wind. (7)

22 It might involve a tip, if you do it to your hat. (Dunce cap on? No!) (4)

23 Quite the opposite of 9, such fours used to be found on the golf course. (4)

25 With such, you don't have to hold your nose under water. (7)

27 A mouse (not Old English) and it's predator get the fruit of it. (6)

29 In parting, this helped Moses out. (3,3)

33 A stupid person returns to get what might be of some help in the tub. (5)

34 and **35** Publicizes the vacation journey with a conclusive comedown at such a place. (3-5)

36 and **37** Shake your head at something, and go flat on your face—but don't expect Gibbon to write it up again! (7,3,4)

DOWN

1 Makes things hard, when you fly off the handle in these. (7)

2 Place in old Greece, being part of the nation, I always say. (5)

3 Some come clean this way, but it's all right coming up with hers, perhaps. (6)

4 and **31** A measure of commercial transaction, as a miniature flea market—with perhaps a lot being offered. (4,4)

5 Takes the physical energy out of such unknowing types, who get to pass out of it, maybe. (4)

6 The poet who gets to put a label on mining products? (6)

7 Look at how engaged couples finally behaved—and sounded like one in the cow pasture! (5)

8 What prisoners hope to have, being charged in connection with battery. (3,4)

13 One of those crazy types of 5—one with the sort of net that catches those in the know, so-called. (7)

14 A modern political entity built around the old city, which shows a certain amount of personal development. (7)

15 Concerning the professional cook around it, you get a big wave from this. (7)

18 See 10 across

20 A 15 down of the law, perhaps useful to the shoemaker. (3)

22 Being a trifle slow-witted, argued in court. (Features so indented this way!) (7)

24 The top of the head to the Spanish—perhaps deserving a cut from such. (7)

25 Like coming up a great distance away, I go on it for the hunt. (6)

26 Temporarily gave possession to what is headed around the stormy sea. (6)

28 A philosopher who sat on the porch and didn't have much to say? (5)

30 Incorrectly make a statement about a US state—or some other country? (5)

31 See 4 down

32 See 1 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2929

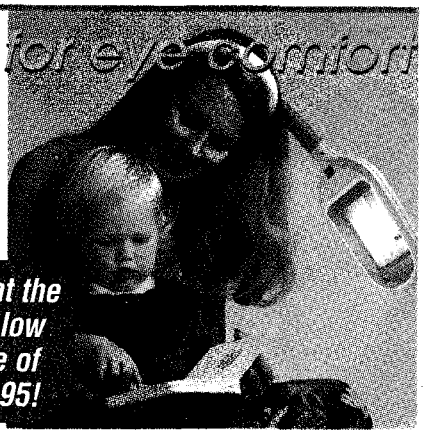
R	H	O	D	E	I	S	L	A	N	D	R	E	D	
E		N		L		I		M		Y				T
C	L	E	R	E	S	T	O	R	I	E	S			H
A		S		C		I		I		D		A		E
P	O	I	N	T	I	N	G	T	O		O	M	I	T
I		D		O		G		S		E		A		R
T	H	E	I	R	S		M	A	L	V	O	L	I	O
U		D		A		O		R		A		G		J
L	E	N	I	T	I	V	E		A	N	K	A	R	A
A		E		E		E		A		G		M		N
T	E	S	T		B	R	I	D	L	E	P	A	T	H
I		S		D		R		V		L		T		O
O			D	E	H	U	M	I	D	I	F	I	E	R
N				E		L		C		S		O		S
	S	I	M	P	L	E	S	E	N	T	E	N	C	E

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lighting Technology for Everyone

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities...now available for under $80!



The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp...

...for reading...

...at work...

...and when you need a source of natural light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- *Replicates the true spectrum of natural sunlight*
- *See with clarity and enjoyment*
- *Creates natural, glare-free light*
- *Dual position switch for 27 and 18 watts of power is equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulb*
- *Provides sharp visibility*
- *Elevating and luminous*
- *Flexible gooseneck design*
- *Instant-on, flicker-free light*

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum™?

The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the Balanced Spectrum™ lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 84. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a full spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint verses the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.

Height as shown: 50"

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

Try the Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp with this special offer! Due to our overwhelming customer response, TechnoScout can offer this fantastic floor lamp for under a $80. The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp also comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive home trial. Try this product for **60 days** and return it for the full product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

This light can change the way you live and work

As a commercial photographer, I probably give more attention to lighting than most people and therefore was impressed with the smooth, soft daylight quality of your lamp.

Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair...I don't get sore eyes like I used to.

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Results may vary.

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*

Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp was ~~$99.95,~~ now...

Item# ZY-3269 . . . . *only* **$79.95** + S&H

Please mention promotional code 26494.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-399-7853

To order by mail with check or money order, or by credit card, please call for total amount plus S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.

Virginia residents only—please add 4.5% sales tax.

LATEST...GREATEST...NEATEST...COOLEST
You can see hundreds of high-tech products at
www.technoscout.com

TECHNOSCOUT®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2004 TechnoBrands, Inc.

36951

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED